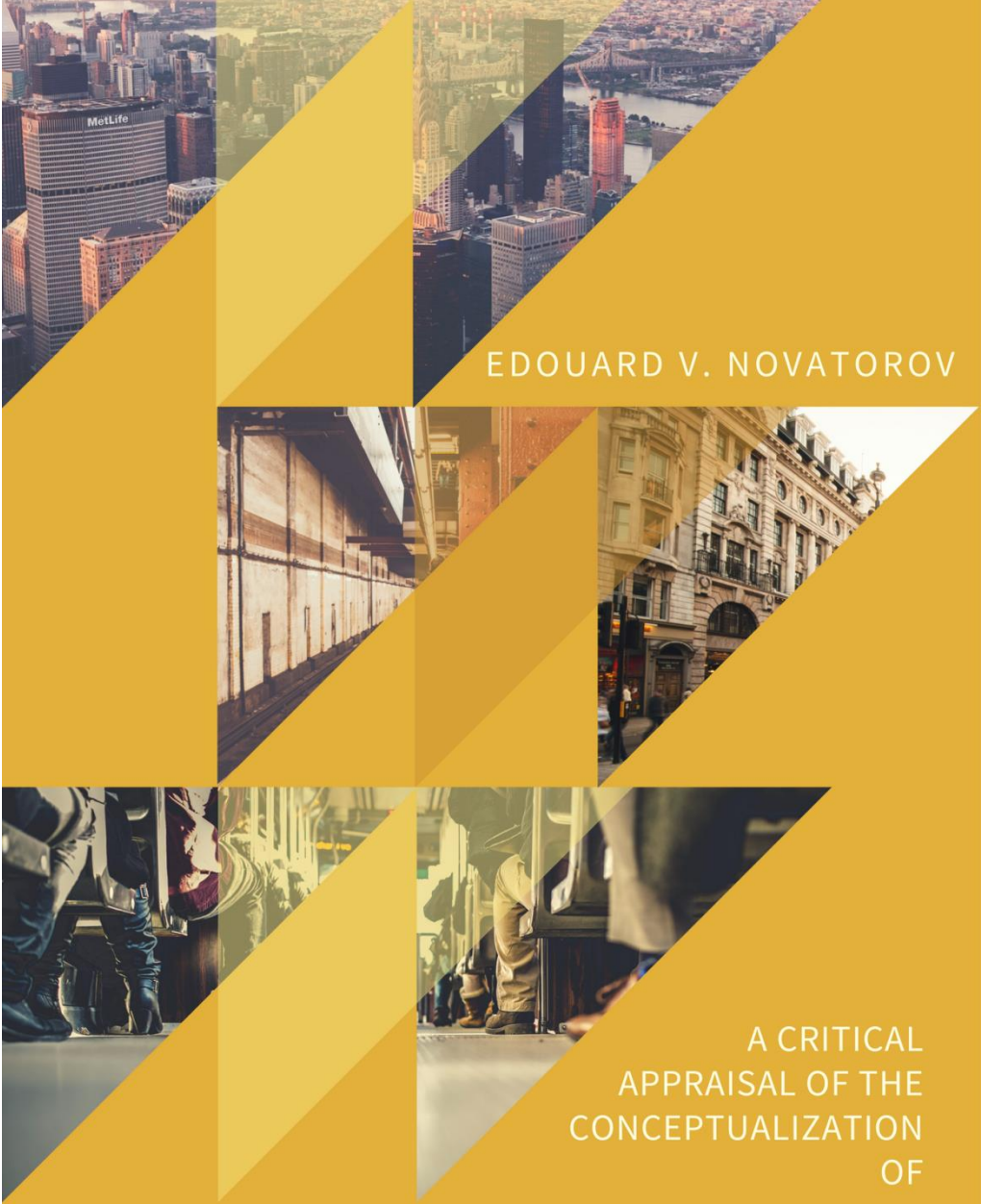

EDOUARD V. NOVATOROV

A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF

Public Park and Recreation Marketing

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Preface

The objectives of the study were (a) to identify the reasons and concerns of those public administrators and marketing scholars who do not accept the usefulness of marketing in the public sector; (b) to deconstruct, comprehend, interpret, and critically appraise the current conceptualization of public sector marketing from the viewpoint of negativists identified in step (a); and (c) to reconstruct, redefine, reinterpret, and reoperationalize the current controversial conceptualization of public sector marketing into a new conceptualization in the context of park and recreation services.

The critical theory approach to the study primary used non-empirical procedures data collection and analytic procedures which included investigative research, negative case analysis, and theoretical triangulation. These procedures were supplemented with empirical data collected from in-depth interviews with five scholars and with three parks and recreation managers. Results of the non-empirical procedures revealed the biased selective nature of the current conceptualization of public park and recreation marketing and the existence of alternative conceptualizations which have been ignored. The existing and alternative models were discussed with scholars and park and recreation managers. Support was found for the alternative models. From these data an alternative conceptualization of public park and recreation marketing was developed and named the concept of administered marketing. Implications for park and recreation managers are discussed. Directions for future research into the administratively managed park and recreation marketing concept are suggested.

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Chapter 1.
Introduction

The past two decades have witnessed a worldwide acceleration in policies to privatize support for the provision of park and recreation services. While in some countries, such as the United States, this process started in the early 1970s, in other countries, such as Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, it is a relatively new trend stemming from the shift of these countries towards a free market system. In spite of differences in geography, political philosophy and commencement dates, the process of privatization in the park and recreation field is characterized by at least four general trends.

First, it appears that governments across the world have tended to reduce their responsibility and financial support for public recreation, emphasizing greater reliance on alternative financial sources such as, for example, user fees. Second, nonprofit and commercial institutions have been encouraged to enter the recreation field, to supplement or supplant public sector efforts. Third, public recreation agencies have entered into a variety of types of partnership with organizations from the nonprofit and commercial sectors. Fourth, academics through their journals and training programs have introduced business methods, techniques and tools to the public sector where environmental changes made managers receptive to such efforts.

Indeed, public administration scholars have actively sought to develop new, or borrow and adapt existing, private sector tools and concepts. Thus, public park and recreation administrators have

sought to understand, and have attempted to transfer, commercial marketing tools and concepts to the fundamentally different operational environment of the public sector.

Evolution of the Problem

Although the concept of marketing in the nonprofit and public sectors was initially criticized in the marketing literature as confusing (Luck, 1969; 1974), it eventually became widely embraced by marketing scholars and consultants (Nickels, 1974). Lovelock & Weinberg (1978) noted that by the end of the 1970s there was no longer any serious controversy among marketing scholars about the appropriateness of the concept for the public and nonprofit sectors. However, despite this apparent agreement among marketing academics, public administrators and academics in public administration areas, including parks and recreation, have not unanimously embraced the utility of the concept of public sector marketing. Hunt (1976) observed the reluctance of some more than two decades ago:

> Sadly, most administrators of nonprofit organizations and many academics in other areas still do not perceive that many problems of nonprofit organizations are basically marketing in nature, and that there is an extant body of knowledge in marketing academia and a group of trained marketing practitioners that can help to solve these problems. Until administrators of nonprofit organizations perceive that they have marketing problems, their marketing decision making will inevitably suffer. Thus, the major *substantive* problem concerning broadening the concept of marketing lies in the area of *marketing* to nonmarketers. (italics original) (pp. 24-25).

During the subsequent two decades the "marketing to nonmarketers" problem in the context of the public sector, has split public administrators into two camps comprised of its supporters and opponents. Thus, Roberto (1991, p. 81), an active proponent of marketing, observed: "Marketing's recent and growing participation in public sector management has received a bipolar love-hate evaluation."

Those commentators, who are critical of marketing, do partially recognize the need of public administrators to adopt new management techniques to deal with the prevailing environment of less-government-more-user-fees. However, they refer to the application of marketing principles within the nonprofit and public administration fields as "confusion compounded", "an inappropriate model", "intellectualization", "absurd", "the megalomaniac marketing supremacy syndrome", and "a dramatic

imitation" of social relationships (Arndt, 1978; Capon & Mauser, 1982; Luck, 1974; Loveday, 1991; Monieson, 1988; Vanden Heede & Pelican, 1995). The opponents' position was perhaps best articulated by Walsh (1994, p. 68) who suggested the need to redefine public marketing "…if it is to be specifically public service marketing rather a pale imitation of a private sector approach within the public sector."

In contrast to the position of marketing opponents, supportive commentators refer to its use as "a comprehensive strategy for effecting social change" with "unique concepts and techniques" which are "coming of age" and are merely "misunderstood" (Leathar & Hastings, 1987; Lovelock & Weinberg, 1978; Hastings & Haywood, 1991; Roberto, 1991). Ironically, the ultimate goal of marketing proponents was essentially the same as that of its opponents--to increase the effectiveness and responsiveness of public organizations in a changed financial environment. The essence of the difference in opinions appears to relate to the *means* by which this commonly recognized goal should be achieved.

The "marketing to nonmarketers" issue has wide geographic and disciplinary scope. It can be found in such diverse disciplines as political science, arts and culture, health promotion, fundraising, and nutrition education. The geography of the debates ranges from the Republics of the former Soviet Union, across Europe, through North America, to New Zealand and Australia. Given this extensive scope, the emergence of controversial debate on the "marketing to nonmarketers" issues in the park and recreation field was not unexpected (Havitz, 1988; Schultz, McAvoy & Dustin, 1988).

Statement of the Problem

The author's review of the international research literature in multiple fields over the past three decades revealed that both strong positive and strong negative responses have been expressed on the extent to which marketing concepts and tools are applicable to the public sector, which includes the provision of park and recreation services? While many scholars and practitioners, especially in the marketing discipline, accepted and advocated the application of marketing tools in the public sector, other commentators, mostly from the public administration domain, vigorously rejected them, and considered the application of marketing within the public sector as being inappropriate and inconsistent with the character of public services.

The following objectives form the framework for this study:

To identify the reasons and concerns of those public administrators and marketing scholars who do not accept the usefulness of marketing in the public sector (negativists).

To deconstruct, comprehend, interpret, and critically appraise the current conceptualization of public sector marketing from the viewpoint of negativists identified in step 1.

To reconstruct, redefine, reinterpret, and reoperationalize the current controversial conceptualization of public sector marketing into a new conceptualization in the context of park and recreation services.

The research questions arising from above four objectives were:

What are the major concerns and reasons for non-acceptance of the public sector marketing concept among reluctant public administrators and marketing scholars?

What are the assumptions, conceptualizations and disciplinary perspectives underlying the concept?

Can a superior conceptualization be developed which is likely to be acceptable to a larger proportion of public park and recreation administrators?

In contrast to the traditional positivistic perspective of social science which believes it is designed to produce informative types of knowledge and is motivated by technical interest, the current study is motivated by hermeneutical and emancipatory interests and focuses on the generation of knowledge through interpretive and critical appraisal approaches. Accordingly, the primary aim of this inquiry is not prediction and control through verification or falsification of hypotheses and propositions intended to establish broad generalizations in the form of eternal facts or laws. Nor is the purpose to determine and discuss cause-effect linkages supported by internal and external validity and reliability procedures, performed by "objective" and "disinterested" scientists. Rather the aim of the first part of this inquiry is understanding, critique, reconstruction, and transformation of existing knowledge by a subjective and passionate researcher, whose beliefs have been informed by historical, interpretive, and structural insights. As a result of this work, the study goes on to justify the need for changes in perceptions of the public sector marketing concept, crystallizes the needed changes, and suggests a more informed conceptualization of the concept. The final stage of the study empirically tests the efficacy of the revised conceptualization in the context of park and recreation services.

Scope of the Study and Its Underlying Assumptions

The review of literature in Chapter II will show that even though operationalization of marketing within this public park and recreation field may differ from its operationalization in a commercial or nonprofit organization's marketing, all these operationalizations are based on the same concept of dyadic voluntary exchange which is the central generic concept of marketing (Kotler, 1972). Indeed, the generic marketing concept collapses different types of public and nonprofit organizations into a single broad category which may be termed, "public agency," "social organization," or "nonprofit organization" and these terms are often used interchangeably. Hence, the study is not limited to a discussion of marketing in the public parks and recreation field, because conclusions derived from other non-commercial fields in which marketing has been applied are likely to be germane.

Other fields and their research literatures, where similar problems have been vigorously and interestingly discussed, may provide critical insights that will enhance understanding of the study problem. Therefore, the study encompasses multidisciplinary, plural, and international references drawing from, for example, the American, Western and Eastern European, and Australian public administration, recreation, health promotion, and marketing literatures.

Public recreation marketing has emerged from discussions of applying the philosophy and techniques of marketing to the public and nonprofit sectors in the marketing literature. However, many of these marketing ideas emerged originally from social science disciplines. Almost all social science can be classified into the two general categories of "individualistic" and "collectivistic" perspectives (Collins, 1994; Olsen, 1992; Parsons, 1961). This classification predetermines the scope of a study and many of the assumptions that are inherent within it.

This study attempts to accommodate a pluralistic stance toward diversity of social science perspectives. Thus, it is not limited to discussion of individualistic or collectivist references. The study attempts to give equal consideration to different social science perspectives.

Although the study's main retrospective is focused on historical development of public sector marketing from its original introduction in 1969 to the present time, it also includes discussions and references to social science problems and studies stemming from the beginning of the twentieth century. This is done because the legitimacy of the modern concept of public sector marketing is commonly justified by studies that were conducted in the 1960s (e. g. Belshaw, 1965; Blau & Scott, 1962; Homans,

1969) or even earlier (e. g. Frazer, 1919; Malinowski, 1922). Without reference to these original studies and their interpretation by marketing scholars, an understanding of the prevailing concept of public sector marketing would be incomplete.

The central assumption of this study suggests that the source of the "marketing to nonmarketers" problem might derive from contradictions which may be termed the "fox guards the chickens" paradox. The paradox suggests that introduction of the public sector marketing concept, which was ostensibly portrayed as an attempt to strengthen the public sector, was in reality an attempt to weaken it. Marketing scholars who introduced the concept were representatives of the laissez-faire academic school in economics, whose major premise is superiority of the neo-liberal principle of the free market over any government intervention. Their conceptualization of public sector marketing was based on individualistic social science concepts that reflected the laissez-faire doctrine and neo-liberal principles. The author of this research believes that collectivistic concepts of social science which have received widespread empirical support and recognition; that may better explain some dimensions of public service; and that could genuinely contribute to a real strengthening of public sector management, were selectively excluded from the discussion, and that this prompted a natural adverse reaction from some public administrators.

The central proposition of this study is that in order for marketing to be accepted by public administrators, genuine allies of the public sector should develop it. A pro laissez-faire conceptualization of public sector marketing developed by those who lack understanding and insights of public sector management should be re-defined using alternative elements from collectivistic perspectives that are found in social science. The author believes that these collectivist perspectives are more congruent to the public sector's missions, and may provide a superior conceptualization of public sector marketing, than that which currently prevails based on an individualist perspective.

Importance of the Study

The study contributes to existing knowledge in three ways. First, it employs a nontraditional methodology, which helps to reveal the ideologically biased nature of the existing principles that underlay public sector marketing. Second, it introduces alternative concepts that have been ignored as result of this bias. Third, it offers an alternative conceptualization of public sector marketing in the context of parks and recreation that addresses the concerns of public administrators and seeks to achieve consensus among them.

Definition of Terms

Generalized exchange. Is a unitary system of relationships in that it links all parties to the exchange together in an integrated transaction in which reciprocations are indirect, not mutual (see Univocal reciprocity). Generalized exchange implies the existence of at least three parties involved in exchange relationships and has several forms. Chain generalized exchanges has the form A ⇨ B ⇨C ⇨A, where, "⇨" signifies "gives to." Net generalized exchange can be of two subtypes: individual-focused exchange and group-focused exchange. In an individual focused exchange, the group as a whole benefits each member consecutively until all members have each received the same amount of benefits and attention (ABC ⇨D; ACD ⇨B; ABD ⇨ C; BCD ⇨A). In group focused exchanges, individuals give to the group as a unit and then gain back as part of the group from each of the unit members (A ⇨BCD; B ⇨ACD; C ⇨ABD; D ⇨ABC).

Univocal reciprocity. Relationships that involve at least three actors and where actors do not benefit each other directly, but only indirectly.

Restricted exchange. Dyadic exchange relationships between two parties that are based on direct reciprocity (see Direct reciprocity). Graphically this type of exchange is expressed as A ⇔B, where " ⇔ " signifies "give to and receive from." Restricted exchange can take two major forms. Given only two parties, A and B, restricted exchange has the form A ⇔B, and this is referred to as exclusive restricted exchange. Given several parties, for example, three individuals A, B, and C, restricted exchange has the form A ⇔ B ⇔ C and this is referred to as inclusive restricted exchange.

Direct reciprocity. Direct relationships where actor A expects to be benefited directly by actor B, whenever A benefits B.

Public park and recreation services. Park and recreation services that are directly delivered by, or function under the sponsorship or authority of, a governmental unit and are open to the general public.

Private nonprofit recreation services. Recreational services that are directly delivered by private individuals or institutions which do not make profit from their efforts and are open to the general public or to a restricted/limited membership.

Commercial recreation services. Recreation services that are owned and operated by private individuals or institutions which seek to derive a profit from their efforts and are open to the general public or to a restricted/limited membership.

Closed-system organization. A view of the organization as an instrument designed for the pursuit of clearly specified goals, which enable it to direct organizational arrangements and decisions toward goal achievement and toward making the organization more rational in the pursuit of its goals.

Open-system organization. A view of the organization as a system that is concerned with responding to external and internal pressures, and whose goals may be diffuse and constantly changing.

Individualistic sociological tradition. The utilitarian tradition in sociology that stems from the works of British social philosophers who postulated that the private interests of individuals determine the social structure of society.

Collectivistic sociological tradition. The Durheimian-Parsonian tradition in sociology that stems from the works of French sociologists and anthropologists and postulates the superdominant structure of society over private interests of individuals.

Chicago School in economics. Academic tradition usually associated with Frederic A. Hayek (1899-1922) and Milton Friedman who held faculty positions at the University of Chicago for long time periods. It refers to social scientists who advocate the laissez-faire model of economics based on libertarian principles, who advocate privatization of much of the tax supported public sector, and who see government as the problem, and not as the solution to most economic ills.

Redistribution. Obligatory payments to a central political or religious authority that uses the receipts for its own maintenance, to provide community services, and as an emergency stock in case of individual or community disasters.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into six chapters. Chapter I has provided the background, objectives, research questions, scope, and central assumptions of the study. Chapter II discusses existing debates in the methodological literature and justifies the choice of critical theory as a research perspective for the study. Chapter III presents a review of the literature as it relates to the study problem. Chapter IV offers a critical appraisal of public sector marketing principles and informs an alternative conceptualization developed in Chapter VI. Chapter V presents results from an empirical test designed to validate the alternative concept in the context of parks and recreation among public administrators. Finally, conclusions and recommendations are discussed in Chapter VII.

Chapter 2.
The Literature Review

This chapter discusses issues related to the application of commercial marketing principles and tools to the public sector context, the conceptual and disciplinary sources from which public sector marketing has been conceptualized, and the emergence of public recreation marketing theory. The literature review focuses on studies that have addressed the usefulness, limitations, and inconsistencies of the marketing concept as it has been applied in nonprofit organizations and the public sector, including park and recreation agencies. Findings and viewpoints from the marketing, public administration, and leisure and recreation literatures are reviewed.

The Emergence of Broadened Marketing Proposition

Marketing is derived from the term market, and a market is characterized by a voluntary agreement of the terms of a sale between buyers and sellers. The terms of sale offer a *quid pro quo* that is supported by two functions--communications and exchange. In an open market place both buyers and sellers communicate and search for the best sale-purchase terms they can find and voluntarily exchange property rights on goods and services, using money to facilitate the exchange.

Voluntary exchange (market transaction) occurs in a competitive environment that is comprised of many sellers (organizations) where each seek a competitive advantage in order to maximize their assets. Almost all competing organizations have

two alternative strategies for responding to competitive forces: (1) an organization can seek to alter so it fits its offering; or (2) the organization can adjust its offerings to meet authentic customer needs. The former strategy is known as a selling orientation while the latter is known as the marketing concept. Although both strategies are guided by the desire to generate high levels of sales and profit, most marketers believe that a marketing orientation strategy is likely to be more successful in the long term for maximizing profit. A marketing orientation, or simply marketing, was defined initially as:

> The process of discovery and translating customer wants into product and service specifications, and then in turn helping to make it possible for more and more consumers to enjoy more and more these products and services. (Hansen, 1957, p. 2)

Monieson (1988) noted that almost everyone in the marketing field accepted this definition until the late 1960s and early 1970s, when Kotler & Levy (1969a) suggested that the marketing philosophy and marketing tools could be applied with equal effectiveness to the public and nonprofit sector contexts.

Conceptualization of Generic Marketing Concept

Kotler & Levy (1969a) argued that public and nonprofit organizations such as police departments, park and recreation agencies, museums, public schools, and the like, performed "marketing-like activities whether or not they are recognized as such" (p. 11). Kotler and Levy attempted to redefine traditional notions of commercial marketing and to formulate generic definitions of product, target groups, and the other functions of marketing so these concepts could be applicable to the public sector. Their main thesis suggested that all organizations faced similar marketing problems, were involved in marketing processes, and that business marketing provide a useful set of concepts for solving these problems.

In a rejoinder to Luck's (1969) critical comments on their article, Kotler & Levy (1969b) proclaimed that the concept of a market transaction with its underlying mission of generating profit for businesses was not the defining characteristic of modern marketing. Rather, the ultimate goal of marketing was the satisfaction of consumer needs and the continual adjustment of product offerings to meet these needs. They argued that this process was universal and was found in primitive, socialist, and capitalist societies. They perceived the process to be based on the neutral and "general idea of exchange" which included commercial

market transactions and noncommercial services delivered in return for the payment of taxes.

Inspired by the general idea of exchange emanating from the provocative theory of social exchange (Homans 1969), Kotler and his associates modified existing political communication and public advertising theories to formulate the marketing approach comprised of the "4 Ps" model, voluntary exchange, and the marketing philosophy of meeting customers needs (Bonoma & Zaltman 1978; Kotler & Zaltman, 1971; Zaltman, Kotler, & Kaufman, 1972). This explanation of the notion of marketing resulted in the term "social marketing" which was defined as:

> The design, implementation, and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving considerations of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution, and marketing research. (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971, p. 5).

In 1972, Kotler formulated his broadened, generic, and axiomatic concept of marketing that was conceptualized as being universal for any type of product or organization (Kotler, 1972). The generic marketing paradigm stated that there were three levels of marketing "consciousness." Consciousness 1 was business marketing concerned with market transactions. This was the traditional notion of marketing from its beginning until the early 1970s. Consciousness 2 was a broadened notion of marketing concerned with nonmarket transactions that do not require explicit payments. Consciousness 3 was those marketing activities that were directed to publics other than customers' markets in an organization's environment. All three levels of marketing consciousness shared the same core concept, the notion of transaction. Kotler (1972) asserted:

> The core concept of marketing is the transaction. A transaction is the exchange of values between two parties. The things-of-value need not be limited to goods, services, and money; they include other resources such as time, energy, and feelings. Transactions occur not only between buyers and sellers, and organizations, and clients, but also between any two parties. ... Marketing is specifically concerned with how transactions are created, stimulated, facilitated, and valued. (p. 49, emphasis original).

While some marketing educators agreed with the broadening marketing proposition (Nickels, 1974), some did not (Bartels, 1974; Bell & Emory, 1971; Carman, 1973; Luck, 1969; 1974; Tucker, 1974). In response to the emerging criticism, Bagozzi (1975) attempted to modify the generic concept of marketing further, by proposing three types of marketing exchange (restricted, generalized, and complex) and that they could exhibit three classes

of meanings (utilitarian, symbolic, and mixed). Bagozzi (1975) saw the essence of nonbusiness marketing as being the concept of complex exchange, which he defined as "a system of mutual relationships between at least three parties [where] each social actor is involved in at least one direct exchange, while the entire system is organized by an interconnecting web of relationships" (Bagozzi, 1975, p. 33). This definition built upon the earlier work of Shapiro (1973) who argued that in contrast to a business concern, the nonbusiness organization had to work with a minimum of two constituencies: the public from whom it received funds and the public to whom it provided services. Bagozzi (1975, p. 39) believed that social marketing was "a subset of the generic concept of marketing" and the generic concept of marketing was a "general function of universal applicability."

The impact of Kotler and his associates and their broadening proposition on the marketing field was impressive. In 1975 alone, Kotler and his colleagues from Northwestern University broadened the theory of consumer behavior (Zaltman & Sternthal, 1975), introduced concepts of political candidate marketing (Kotler, 1975b); developed the concept of nonprofit marketing (Kotler, 1975a); reinforced the generic concept of marketing by introducing concepts from sociological and anthropological studies (Bagozzi, 1975); identified similarities between public and profit sector management (Murray, 1975); and introduced nonprofit marketing into the public administration literature (Kotler & Murray, 1975).

Limitations of Conceptualizations

The controversy was initiated by "apologists" who were concerned with the conceptual identity of the marketing discipline, its proper boundaries, and its classical and traditional interpretation (Arnold & Fisher, 1996). Luck (1969; 1974) was the first apologist to attack Kotler and his associates (Kotler & Levy, 1969b; Kotler & Roberto 1989; Kotler & Zaltman, 1971; Kotler, 1972; 1973; 1979; Levy, 1959; Levy & Kotler 1969; Levy & Zaltman 1975). Luck argued that in the public sector there are no freely established terms of sale, and parties (e.g. churches, donors, voters, political parties, and so on) are not given any specific quid pro quo in their transactions. He believed that marketing should be limited to buying-and-selling interactions, and that applying this criterion to nonmarket situations leads to "confusion compounded" (Luck, 1974).

The Kotler-Luck discussion of the scope of marketing stimulated substantial additional debate. Dawson (1969; 1971; 1979), Fisher-Winkelman & Rock (1977), Spratlen (1972;1979),

and Lazer & Kelley (1973) advocated that the central value of marketing should revolve around social responsibility and humanistic concerns, instead of its traditional pragmatic and materialistic orientation and preoccupation with profit. Bell & Emory (1971), Bell (1976), and Etgar & Ratchford (1975) stated that Kotler's broadened conceptualization of marketing undermined the classical interpretation of marketing. Arndt (1978) argued that the marketing field should exclude churches, welfare agencies, and cultural organizations from its domain. He insisted that the conceptual foundations for public sector marketing should emanate from the political science and public administration areas. Bartels (1974) pointed out that if marketing is to be regarded as being sufficiently broad to include both public and for-profit organizations then it will, perhaps, reappear as a higher order discipline and under another name. Some have suggested alternative titles for this higher order discipline. The suggestions included "physical redistribution" (Bartels, 1974); "transactional sociology, persuasion, attitude change, social engineering, public relations, or government" (Tucker,1974); "relationics," "exchangeology" (Arndt, 1978); and "redistributive justice" (Monieson, 1988).

Bagozzi's (1974; 1975) extension of Kotler's generic marketing conceptualization, which incorporated adaptations of social exchange theory and anthropological approaches, also came under attack. Critical commentators argued that Bagozzi's adaptation of social exchange theory from sociology was inadequate, that he ignored critiques of exchange theory found in the social sciences; and that he annexed almost all of social science, especially social psychology, and claimed it as part of the marketing discipline (Blair, 1977; Ferell & Zey-Ferell, 1977; Ferell & Perachione, 1980; Robin, 1978).

In spite of the debates, Kotler's notion of applying marketing logic to contexts beyond those of business situations was widely accepted by marketing educators (Nickels, 1974), Bagozzi's (1975) articulation of a formal theory of marketing exchanges won an award as the most outstanding paper at the American Marketing Association's (AMA) First Semi-Annual Theory Conference, and controversy over the issue was declared to be over (Hunt, 1976; Lovelock & Weinberg, 1978). The next decade, however, showed this declaration to be premature, as further constructive criticism was published by Capon (1981); Capon & Mauser (1982), Dixon (1978), Houston & Gasseneimer (1987), Nine (1994); Octen (1983), Pandya & Dholakya (1992), and Rados (1981).

For example, Dixon (1978) argued that Kotler's broadened conceptualization of marketing, and especially social marketing concept, assumed that management of a public or social organization could act independently from elected government representatives, and that organizations were able to determine equity standards of resource allocation relatively independently. According to Dixon (1978), such a conceptualization was as misleading as the Ptolemaic view of the universe that suggested the Sun revolves around the Earth. Dixon (1978) contended that an organization (the Earth) is subordinate to governmental policy (the Sun) established by elected officials, and that it is government who determines equitable allocation of resources in a society.

Rados (1981) elaborated upon Arndt's (1978) argument that "not all exchange is marketing" and took issue with Kotler and Bagozzi arguing that "not all marketing is exchange." Rados (1981) did not accept either Kotler's (1975) or Bagozzi's (1975) conceptualization of public and nonprofit sectors marketing. He challenged it from two perspectives. First, Rados recognized that the economic idea of voluntary exchange is appropriate for describing commercial transactions characterized by bilateral transfers of tangible or intangible resources between any two parties. He agreed with Kotler that the absence of any control over an individual who had a right to choose, and the inability of a firm to proscribe its products to customers, were the main characteristics of marketing behavior in any democratic society. However, Rados pointed out that in the same democratic society, the most popular method practiced by government to pay for delivered services through the action of its legislative or executive branches was force. This was exemplified by forbidding choices; making selected behavior or purchases illegal and limiting choices through bureaucratic decision rules that restricted the available options. For example, the US federal and state governments require car drivers to use seat belts and drive at a restricted speed; college students to take a prescribed number of courses and follow academic guidelines; and taxpayers to pay their taxes by a certain date. Failure to conform to such rules or laws leads to sanctions and punishments. It is difficult to argue these actions are implemented with a free will so "... the notion of voluntary exchange begins to go off the track" (p. 19).

The second concern expressed by Rados (1981) referred to what was being exchanged for what in noncommercial situations. Mercantile transactions are voluntary bilateral transfers of tangible and intangible resources such as money, goods and services between any two parties. What is being exchanged in such

transactions is "rights, the property rights, specifically the exclusive right to [own] ... and the right to transfer that right to someone else" (p. 19). Rados contended, however, that nothing was being exchanged in noncommercial situations. The National Safety Council urges motorists to drive within the speed limit, not to consume alcohol, and to wear seat belts. However, "the driver gives nothing to the council, and the council gives nothing to the driver... nor does the council seek command over resources as a result of its effort" (p. 20). Similarly, when donors contribute to the art museum or a charity they do not receive in return a "feeling of well being" as Kotler (1975) postulated. Rados argued that feelings are self-generating, cannot be stored and sent off upon receipt of a donation, and may not emanate from the act of donating to an art museum or charity organization.

Rados excluded force, legislative activity, therapy, wartime propaganda, and inability to refuse to pay taxes and the like from the marketing domain. Echoing the earlier critique of Arndt (1978), Rados concluded that "some marketing is exchange, but not all of it; [and] some exchange is marketing but not all of it" (p. 18). In contrast to Kotler, Rados interpreted marketing as a managerial technology for changing behavior. Marketing seeks to influence mass behavior. To achieve this goal, marketing uses two major methods: persuasive communication and adaptation to existing patterns of behavior. Using these methods "[marketer] A tries to get [customer] B to do his will, where B has freedom to act as he chooses" (p. 17).

It should be noted that Rados' interpretation of nonprofit marketing incorporated some contradictions. While dissenting with Kotler's postulations of exchange relationships in nonprofit organizations and rejecting the notion that feelings constitute exchangeable resources, Rados included Kotler's notion of exchange flows in nonprofit organizations where services and money are exchanged for "thanks" (pp. 12-13). It seems that Rados' work was directed towards finding a compromise with Kotler's position.

Reviewing and comparing Rados' (1981) and Kotler's (1975) interpretation of nonprofit marketing, Capon & Mauser (1982) challenged the appropriateness of the marketing concept in a public sector context. The conventional wisdom of marketing advocated by Kotler and his followers (Andreasen, 1995; Lovelock & Weinberg, 1978; 1984; Mokwa, Dawson, & Prieve, 1980; Mokwa & Permut, 1981) suggested that the core task of marketing is to satisfy the publics' needs and wants. Accordingly, the marketing concept (marketing philosophy) as defined in almost every

commercial marketing text states that the satisfaction of customer needs is the justification for an agency's existence and its actions. Hence, alternatives to the concept of marketing--a sales orientation or a product orientation--are seen as inappropriate and likely to lead to a company's demise. The conventional task of marketing is perceived to be a continual adjustment of product or service offerings to meet customer needs (Kotler & Levy, 1969b). In the public sector context, Kotler (1975a) suggested that a sales orientation was indicative of an unresponsive organization, while a responsive organization would be characterized by a marketing orientation.

Capon & Mauser (1982) dispute this conventional view of marketing in the public and nonprofit sector contexts. They contrast business and nonbusiness organizations and argue that business firm and public sector organizations have different objectives. Business firms have a long run objective to survive and in pursuing this objective, firms can change their core mission as many times as it necessary for survival. Change of mission means either adapting the firm's products to match the external environment (the marketing concept) or adapting the environment to match the firm's product (the selling concept). Most marketers favor adapting the marketing concept, that is, changing a firm's core mission, services, or target markets in order to best match its resources to environmental opportunities. For example, a commercially oriented recreation center could totally change its service offering, increase prices, reduce costs, target high-income market segments in a different geographical location, and abandon low-income local markets that were not contributing to the center's long run survival objective.

Capon & Mauser (1982, p. 128) argue that this notion of satisfying customer needs and wants, or the application of the marketing concept in a public organization is "absurd... as far as pursuing its core mission is concerned." They distinguish between extant and core missions of public and nonprofit organizations. The extant mission reflects the activities of public and nonprofit organizations that are designed to improve relationships with publics. For example, a church can provide scouting, women's clubs, and soup kitchens to cement relationships with believers. A public university may modify its course offering to serve students better. A city park and recreation department may introduce new recreation services in response to citizens' requests. The extant mission, and nature of activities associated with it, may change over time as relationships with publics improve or deteriorate. However, the core mission, which is more important than the

extant missions, is less likely to change. Churches and political parties do not change their core religious doctrines and political philosophies. Public universities do not change the length of semester or core course requirements because some students want them shorter, fewer, or cheaper. Park and recreation departments do not provide highly profitable services such as casinos or striptease bars because these contradict their core social mission to deliver a healthy recreation opportunities. Rather these organizations attempt to persuade their members and publics either to adopt the core political, educational, religious, or community doctrines and philosophies, or request them to drop their membership with the organization.

Capon & Mauser (1982) argue that for a nonprofit or public sector organizations, the appropriate behavior relating to the core mission is "persuasion to its point of view." For other areas of activities and services defined by the extant mission, either a marketing or sales orientation may be appropriate. A similar position regarding the role of marketing in public organizations was taken by Hutton (1996) who recommended reconsideration of the fallacious understanding of relationships between marketing and public relations suggested by Kotler & Mindag (1978). Comparing Kotler's definition of generic marketing with definitions of integrated marketing communications (IMC) and relationship marketing, Hutton (1996) found them to be almost identical and, that all of them were, "a definition of public relations, as it has been practiced by more enlightened organizations for decades" (p. 158). Hutton suggested that public organizations adopt a "separate but equal" model of relationships between public relations and marketing. Consistent with Capon & Mauser (1982), Hutton (1996) suggested that public relations was the appropriate vehicle for implementing persuasion and the core mission, while marketing was more appropriate for the extant mission with its focus on physical distribution, capacity utilization, new product development, and the like.

These critical works stimulated further discussion of the conceptual underpinnings of public sector marketing. Walsh (1994) accepted Rados' dissension with the notion of voluntary exchange in the public sector, as did Pandya & Dholakya (1992) who suggested as an alternative the institutional theory of exchange informed by Arndt's (1981) political economy theory of marketing systems.

The overall status of the public sector marketing concept and the whole idea of applying marketing principles to contexts beyond business situations in the marketing literature was perhaps best

summarized by Kerin (1996, p. 6). In his comprehensive review of outstanding contributions published during the last 60 years in the *Journal of Marketing*, Kerin characterized the works of Kotler and his associates (Kotler, 1972; Kotler & Levy, 1969a; 1969b; Kotler & Zaltman, 1971) as "controversial." The aspects of marketing which are most controversial and potential targets for reconceptualization will become more apparent in the review of the general public administration and the park and recreation literatures that appears in the following sections.

The Emergence of Marketing in the Public and Nonprofit Sectors

Interest among public administrators in the application of marketing tools to public sector services also emerged from the tax revolt of the late 1970s and early 1980s. With the shrinkage and withdrawal of grants from federal and state governments, municipalities were confronted with the issue of how to satisfy the growing expectations of taxpayers in a milieu of reduced financial resources. During this period of financial scarcity, the public administration literature witnessed an attempt to rethink the nature of public sector management through the active importation and borrowing of private sector techniques. This process of importation was labeled by several commentators as integration of public and private sector management or in briefer terms "managerialism" (Graham, 1995; Murray, 1975; Walsh, 1994). Marketing in the public sector was part of the managerialism movement.

Walsh's (1994) analysis suggested that interest toward marketing among public administrators was significantly stimulated by the growth of consumerism, the development of market-based approaches to the provision of public services, and by extensive use by government agencies of promotional techniques. Similarly, O'Farcheallaigh (1991) contended that the marketing philosophy in government organizations was a reaction to a commonly recognized need for governments to change the ways in which they organized and delivered public services. One of the earliest attempts to view citizens as customers, city hall as the community's market place, and the city manager as a marketing manager, was a series of articles in a 1970 issue of *Public Management* published by the International City Management Association (ICMA). Several articles--written by the executive director of a government city center organization, a consultant from an advertising agency, and a professor of government--defined marketing, described its usefulness for government

organizations, and suggested that marketing tools could offer innovative ways of addressing issues for public managers (Garvey, 1970; Goldberg, 1970; Joyner, 1970). The general tone of these articles was that marketing was an overlooked opportunity for improving the delivery of city services, and many public sector managers were unaware of the positive role of marketing even though they were unconsciously engaged in it.

Kotler & Murray (1975) introduced marketing as a concept into the more scholarly public administration literature in the leading North American public administration journal. Since that time the word marketing has became an established term in the public manager's lexicon. However, in the two decades following the Kotler and Murray article, the application of marketing tools to the public sector was confusingly linked with their application to the nonprofit sector. Thus, texts and articles often use as synonyms such terms as nonprofit marketing, government marketing, political marketing, and social marketing even though there are different environmental contexts and, hence, marketing applications in each of these milieus. It appears that public administrators and the literature most commonly use the term "nonprofit marketing." This is probably attributable to the original articulators of the generic marketing concept believing the term "nonprofit organization" to be an appropriate generic term for the public sector and social cause organizations (Kotler & Levy, 1969; Kotler, 1972).

Marketing techniques within the public sector have been applied across the full range of services including police services, garbage collection, population control, recycling, and education. Texts appeared that focused on specific of application of marketing techniques to different nonprofit and government agencies (Crompton & Lamb, 1986a; Fine, 1990; Howard & Crompton, 1980; Kotler, 1975; Lovelock & Weinberg, 1984; Mauser, 1983; Mokwa, Dawson, & Prieve, 1980; Mokwa & Permut, 1981; O' Faircheallaigh, Graham, & Warburton, 1991; Rados, 1981). In addition to public management journals regularly addressing different marketing topics, several academic journals (e.g. *the Journal of Nonprofit Marketing*, *Journal of Hospitality and Leisure Marketing, Health Marketing Quarterly, and Social Marketing Quarterly*) were subsequently launched to address issues related to the application of marketing techniques to specific fields in the nonprofit and public sectors. Today, public sector marketing applications are being used in a large number of international contexts including republics of the former Soviet Union and Third-World Countries (Barach, 1984; Beveridge 1995; Bloom & Novelli 1981; Duhaime, McTavish, & Ross, 1985; Gallagher & Weinberg,

1991; Lamb, 1987; Latham, 1991; Rushman, Smith, & Thompson, 1997; Tam, 1994).

Conceptualization of Public Sector Marketing

Kotler & Murray (1975) suggested one of the earliest and most influential conceptualizations of public sector marketing. It was elaborated upon in a text published in the same year (Kotler, 1975). Kotler adopted Boulding's (1970) definition, and Blau & Scott' s (1962) classification, of formal organizations. In Kotler's (1975a, p. 5) interpretation, a formal organization is "a purposeful coalescence of people, materials, and facilities seeking to accomplish some purpose in the outside world." Different purposes determine different types of formal organizations: business concerns seek to benefit their owners: service organizations seek to benefit their clients; mutual benefit organizations seek to benefit their members; and commonweal organizations seek to benefit the public at large. In spite of differences in goals, Kotler contended that all formal organizations were involved in exchange relationships with various categories of publics.

However, the concept of voluntary exchange is only one of several possible philosophical alternatives for explaining the relationships between formal organizations and their publics. Other options include: the love system, characterized by the underlying motive of benevolence on one side without any necessary reciprocation by the other; and the threat system characterized by an underlying motive of malevolence on one side. Thus, in Kotler's interpretation, a church and its members, a police department and citizens, a charity and its donors, and so on; are all engaged in exchange transactions that involve taxes, services, money, contributions, feelings of well-being, or other tangible and intangible benefits. If an organization is willing to exchange resources with an identified public, then this category of public becomes the organization's market or "distinct group of people and/or organizations that have resources which they want to exchange, or might conceivable exchange, for distinct benefits" (Kotler, 1975a, p. 22).

Having introduced the notions of organization, public, market and exchange, Kotler explained the differences between marketing and a sales orientation. The marketing concept involves continuously adjusting the firm's offerings to the targeted customers' needs. In contrast, a sales orientation involves continuous adjustment of buyers' needs to the firm's offerings. He asserts that a sales orientation is likely to be characteristic of an unresponsive organization, while a marketing orientation is likely

to result in a highly responsive organization. Kotler (1975a) favors the latter and defines marketing as being applicable for all types of formal organizations:

> The analysis, planning, implementation, and control of carefully formulated programs designed to bring about voluntary exchanges of values with target markets for the purpose of achieving organizational objectives. It relies heavily on designing the organization's offering in terms of the target market's needs and desires, and on using effective pricing, communication, and distribution to inform, motivate, and service the markets (p. 5).

With few exceptions (Lauffer, 1984; Mauser, 1983; Rados, 1981), this transactional conceptualization of public sector marketing has been widely accepted by scholars writing about public sector marketing.

Limitations of Conceptualizations

Some negative comments towards applying the marketing philosophy and techniques in the public sector have emerged in the public administration literature. As an advocate of public sector marketing observed: "marketing's recent and growing participation in public sector management has received a bipolar love-hate evaluation" (Roberto, 1991, p. 81). Opponents of marketing in the public administration field felt uncomfortable with Kotler's generic transactional conceptualization of public marketing, which suggests no differences between: public and private management; public and the nonprofit sectors; and the role and application of marketing in these different sectors.

Rainey, Backoff, & Levine (1976) contested Kotler & Murray's (1975) and Murray's (1975) positions that there were only limited differences between formal organizations and between managing public and private entities; that their trends converged; and that as a result, marketing was appropriate in the public sector. In contrast, Rainey *et al.,* (1976) postulated that there are crucial differences between the two sectors and, thus, in the role of marketing in public agencies. Drawing from the literature existing at that time and organizing their data into three major categories (environmental factors, organization-environment transactions, and internal structure and processes), Rainey *et al.,* (1976) contended that a public organization: works in an environment with less market exposure; has more legal and formal constraints on its procedures and spheres of operation; relies more on the "coercive" and "monopolistic" nature of many government activities; and has less decision-making autonomy. Allison (1992) and Walsh (1994) reached similar conclusions. These analyses challenged the notions

of the appropriateness of both the marketing philosophy and voluntary exchange in the delivery of governmental services.

Differences between the public and private sectors were at least partially recognized in subsequent literature on public sector marketing. Crompton & Lamb (1986b) argued that government organizations are committed to allocate resources equitably, while private sector organizations direct resources only at the most responsive target markets. Equity principles require public organizations to deliver services to all citizens on a fair basis. In contrast, commercial organizations selectively serve only responsive customers. Although differences were recognized and incorporated into some conceptualizations of public sector marketing, the controversy remained salient. Crompton & Lamb (1986b), Mokwa & Permut (1981), and Coffman (1986), who all accepted the distinctive positions of commentators on both sides of the debate demonstrated the centrality of controversy. They recognized Rainey *et al.*'s (1976) crucial differences between public and private organizations, but they accepted the Kotlerian conceptualization of marketing based on the voluntary exchange paradigm as the basis of their conceptual frameworks.

Doubts were raised that the conceptualization of public sector marketing authentically reflected the public realm (Loveday, 1991; Walsh, 1994). Walsh (1994) and Loveday (1991) argued that public sector marketing as it is operationalized has little in common with the public realm. According to Walsh (1994), marketing has not developed in a fashion that is specific to the context of government. He believes that the current conceptualization of marketing reflects a simple semantic adjustment of commercial marketing definitions, for example, by dropping the notion of profit without substantive adaptations to the political context of the public realm. Loveday (1991) questions whether public sector marketing is in any way innovative. He argues that "what the marketers claim as their own has been developed by a lot of other people as well; marketers have made a distinctive contribution in thinking it through in the context of selling products, first tangibles and more recently intangibles, to a mass market" (p. 174). Both authors support Walsh's (1994, p. 70) conclusion that there needs to be a rethinking and re-examination of public sector marketing in order to develop its new politically informed form, and to make it "specifically public service marketing rather than a pale imitation of a private sector approach within the public service."

Empirical studies seem to support these critical voices. Contrary to Lamb & Crompton's (1981) findings about the growing

acceptance of marketing philosophy in public park and recreation agencies, Graham (1995) found that after 10 years of attempting to implement it in public sector organizations, most agencies still were not customer-oriented as defined by the generic marketing concept. Smith's (1988) study found that marketing was viewed only as a promotion technique concerned with specific problems such as an AIDS campaign. Marketing continued to be perceived by many public administrators as unethical, goal-distorting, and as an inappropriate model and framework for public service delivery (Buchanan *et al.,* 1994; Ehling, White, & Grunig, 1992; O'Faircheallaigh *et al.,* 1991; Vanden Heede & Pelican, 1995). It appears that public administrators either should make an effort to better understand marketing and embrace it, or that public sector marketing should undergo further modifications to address the concerns of those public administrators who remain skeptical towards it.

The Emergence of Marketing in Public Recreation Agencies

In many countries, both the business and public sectors provide recreation services. Among some commercial providers there has been a long tradition of applying marketing principles (i.e., Fisk, 1963; Ornstein & Nunn, 1980; Zuzanek, 1976). Indeed, companies in other service industries such as banking, transportation, and consulting have regarded commercial recreation organizations, such as Disney, as models. The early application of marketing principles by such companies was the forerunner of the emergence in the late 1970s of a whole-applied discipline focusing on the marketing of services (Berry 1981).

Interest in the application of marketing principles within the public recreation field also emerged at the end of the 1970s. This interest was stimulated by two major trends in public recreation. First, professionals in many countries were looking for innovative management tools to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of recreational program delivery. Second, traditional ways of financing public leisure programs changed in both Western European and in North American countries (Crompton & Van Doren, 1978; Crompton & McGregor, 1994).

The "tax revolt" in the late 1970s and early 1980s, which was manifested by such laws as California's Proposition 13 and Missouri's Hancock Amendment, resulted in dramatic decreases in budgeted tax support for recreational services and simultaneous pressures to increase revenues from sources other than tax funds.

As a result of these environmental changes, a metamorphosis of recreation managers took place as they had to become more entrepreneurial; look for nontraditional means of financing and operating public recreation facilities; be more concerned with efficiency and effectiveness; employ innovative management strategies; and accept a new philosophy of doing "more with less" in the provision of park and recreation services (Crompton, 1987).

In Europe the early theoretical and conceptual foundations of public recreation marketing stemmed from a series of MS projects undertaken at Loughborough University in the United Kingdom. When it started in 1969-70 with 12 students, this was the first graduate degree in recreation offered by a European university. Unlike most American degree programs in the recreation field that evolved from physical education departments, the Loughborough program was housed in a College of Business Management and was based on the curriculum of a business school. Among other topics in its first year, students' thesis projects addressed such issues as the marketing orientation of local government recreation programs, marketing management, planning, and consumer demand (Colledge, 1970; Crompton, 1970; Tibbott, 1970). The findings from some of these and subsequent projects were summarized in Cowell & Henry's, (1977) study of the degree to which marketing principles were used by local authority recreation centers in the United Kingdom.

The public services marketing group at Loughborough University emerged as a leading academic center for the study of recreation marketing in the United Kingdom (Collins & Glyptis, 1992; Cowell, 1979; Yorke, 1984). Additionally, several authors from other institutions have contributed to the development of theory in the UK. For example, Leadley (1992) published a text dealing with the basic principles of leisure marketing, and Torkildsen's (1991) third edition of his leisure management book included a chapter devoted to leisure marketing. However, Collins & Glyptis (1992, p. 42) concluded that in the leisure marketing field "there is not yet an adequate text" even though they recognized that such texts do exists for tourism marketing in the UK.

In the US, the theoretical beginnings of public recreation marketing were initiated by the writings of John L. Crompton of Texas A&M University, who was a graduate of the first MSc course at Loughbourough University. Marketing as a component of the recreation management system was briefly discussed in the first issue of *Leisure Sciences*, which was a new interdisciplinary journal launched by the Department of Recreation and Parks at

Texas A&M University (Crompton, 1977). Subsequently the concept of marketing was introduced to the field as a philosophical orientation and as a set of activities in a widely adopted textbook (Howard and Crompton, 1980). After this introduction, the locus of research focused on the application of different marketing tools to public park and recreation agencies, such as pricing, and strategic planning (Crompton, 1981a; 1981b; 1983a; 1983b).

Development of the theory of recreation marketing was significantly accelerated in the US with the launching by the Academy of Park and Recreation Administration of the peer reviewed *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration* in 1983. During its early years, this journal became the leading North American outlet for reporting studies concerned with such recreation marketing topics as analyses of leisure market potential (Howard & Crompton, 1984; Howard, 1985), market research, consumer studies, and market segmentation (Crompton, 1983b; Cato & Kunstler, 1988; Havitz & Fridgen, 1985; Warnick & Howard, 1985), and the application of different marketing evaluation and audit techniques (Howard & Selin 1987; Guadagnolo, 1985; Crompton & Lamb, 1986b). With the emergence of services marketing theory in the late 1980s, the focus of studies in the public recreation field shifted toward the conceptualization and application of service quality using sophisticated measurement techniques (Crompton & Love, 1995; Toy, Rager, & Guadagnolo, 1989).

As a result of these developments in the UK and the US, professionals and students in the field of recreation have access to several texts which address recreation marketing as well as numerous articles in the professional and academic journals (Crompton & Lamb, 1986b; Howard & Crompton, 1980, Leadley, 1992; National Park Service, 1983; Torkildsen, 1991, O' Sullivan, 1991). However, book reviewers in journals were equivocal in their characterization of some of these texts. Some were evaluated as "ill defined," with one reviewer suggesting that a text "should have never been published." Others were discussed as a "complete and detailed treatment of marketing as applied to public service" and as important contributions to the recreation field.

Conceptualization of Public Recreation Marketing

Crompton (1983a, p. 7) defined recreation marketing as: "a set of activities aimed at facilitating and expediting exchanges with target markets." This definition was adopted by the National Park Service (*Marketing Parks and Recreation* 1983, p. 3), while O'Sullivan (1981, p. 1) preferred to borrow Kotler's (1975a)

broader definition of marketing as "human activity directed towards satisfying needs and wants through exchange processes." Perhaps, the most comprehensive definition of marketing, because it included marketing management aspects, was suggested by Howard & Crompton (1980, p. 320) who largely drew much of their framework from Kotler's (1975a) conceptualization of nonprofit marketing:

> Marketing is the analysis, planning, implementation, and control of carefully formulated programs designed to bring about voluntary exchanges with target markets for the purpose of achieving agency objectives. It relies heavily upon designing offerings consistent with clients' wants, and on using effective pricing, communication and distribution to inform, motivate, and service the markets.

This conceptualization of recreation marketing rests on several fundamental concepts: (1) the organization as a resource converting mechanism, (2) voluntary exchange, (3) the notion of publics, (4) the marketing mix, (5) the marketing environment, and (6) equity. It postulates that a park and recreation agency operates in an environment with an array of different categories of publics. A public is defined as "a distinct group of people and/or organizations that have an actual or a potential interest in, or impact upon, the recreation and park agency" (Howard & Crompton 1980, p. 321). In order to survive, the recreation agency must first attract resources, in the form of money to acquire land, labor, and materials from one category of publics; second, convert the attracted resources into programs, services, and facilities using internal publics and/ or related government publics; and, third, distribute the converted resources through allocation decisions to various consuming publics.

In these definitions, voluntary exchange is presented as the only plausible conceptual option available to the recreation agency for attracting, converting and distributing resources. Thus, exchange is considered to be the central concept underlying recreation marketing. At a minimum, exchange requires the existence of two simple conditions. First, there should be two or more parties. Second, each party must possess something that is valued by the other party. Thus, a park and recreation agency seeks to obtain resources and support from citizens in the form of tax dollars and user charges, in exchange for the recreation services and benefits that it delivers.

The set of marketing activities includes market intelligence, targeting market segments, establishing objectives, and developing strategies for effective service delivery by using the elements of the marketing mix. The marketing mix embraces four activities:

developing programs, pricing them, scheduling and locating them, and promoting them. The components of the marketing mix have been popularly represented as the "4 Ps" (product, price, promotion, and place). In contrast to noncontrollable factors that characterize the marketing environment, these four elements are considered to be the set of factors controllable by a recreation agency. This application comprises the management aspect of the marketing definition. An agency should carefully analyze the opportunities and constraints in its external environment and use the four marketing mix elements to develop strategies that will lead to achievement of organizational goals.

Crompton (1982) and Crompton & Lamb (1986b) argue that in marketing the delivery of public recreation services, as much attention should be given to equity as to effectiveness and efficiency. Models of equity (market, equal, and compensatory), have a deterministic effect on marketing strategies. The equal opportunity model of equity suggests an undifferentiated target market strategy, which is concerned with the delivery of mainly public services (using public in an economic rather than a sector sense), enjoyed and paid for by the whole community through tax subsidy. The market and compensatory models of equity suggest differentiated or concentrated target market strategies. Under a market model of equity, recreation services are enjoyed by and often at least partially paid for by an individual through a user fee, rather than exclusively by community tax support. In contrast, services paid for primarily by the community but targeted on particular disadvantaged groups are characteristics of compensatory equity. These different types of equity imply that communities are likely to differ in the types of allocation decisions they make.

Limitations of the Conceptualizations

Recreation and park professionals have not challenged the appropriateness of applying marketing tools to the delivery of public recreation services. However, some have challenged its conceptual underpinning. They have expressed concern about the marketing philosophy being an appropriate model for recreation management, and about voluntary exchange being a legitimate framework capable of incorporating equity considerations.

Marketing as a strategy was adopted by many agencies because it was seen as a means of increasing financial resources. It was noted earlier that marketing in the park and recreation field was introduced as a response to financial constraints that emerged in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Goodale (1985) argued that all

responses to these constraints could be classified into two types: strategies for reducing costs (e.g. increasing use of volunteers, computerization, privatization and public-private contracting, voucher systems) and strategies for increasing financial resources (e.g. establishing user fees and charges, application of marketing techniques and orientation). Goodale maintained that while strategies for reducing costs are not necessarily inconsistent with the mission and tasks of public park and recreation agencies, strategies for increasing financial resources, including a marketing orientation, have more potential for being inconsistent with the objectives and mandate of public park and recreation services. He believed that concern with increasing financial resources in a public park and recreation agency tends to shift the focus of managerial attention towards immediate financial considerations at the expense of social objectives.

Goodale (1985) and Schultz *et al.,* (1988) tend to agree that the primary criterion for assessing the adequacy of recreation service distribution should be equity. In a similar vein, Goodale (1985) seems to accept Crompton's (1982) taxonomy of types of equity and his corresponding classification of park and recreation services in a marketing context. He also tends to agree with Crompton (1982) that market equity is the least useful equity model for provision of public services, since it has no redistributive effect. However, Goodale (1985, p. 19) believes that applying a marketing philosophy to the provision of public park and recreation services based on the concept of voluntary exchange, actually endorses the market equity model: "As with other students of local government, Crompton (1982) rejects this criteria [market equity], although in discussing the exchange of services for dollars to accommodate wants and desires he almost endorses it (1983)."

Opponents of marketing argue that application of the marketing philosophy to increase revenues and improve efficiency distorts public recreation agency objectives, contradicts the social service ethic, and invites commercialization of the public recreation field (Dustin & Godale, 1997; Godbey, 1991; Schultz, *et al.,* 1988). For example, Schultz et al. (1988, p. 54) believe that the philosophy of marketing is to convince people that "their desires are real needs and they must have what is for sale." Godbey (1991, p. 56) contends that "marketing public services differs from similar efforts in the commercial sector in a fundamental way—the public sector must market for more than economic profit." Although Havitz (1988) put forward counter arguments emphasizing the inherent neutrality of the marketing philosophy and marketing techniques for both sectors, and that the marketing philosophy and

social service ethic are entirely compatible, the issue remains controversial.

Chapter 3.
Methodology

Introduction

An ongoing and pervasive debate among social scientists during the last two decades of the twentieth century has been taking place between *naturalists*, *antinaturalists*, *critical theorists*, and *pluralists* regarding the issue of how social phenomena should be studied (Martin & McIntyre, 1997). Naturalists argue that the study of social and of natural phenomena should be approached in the same way using objectivist epistemology, ontological belief in realism, and experimental methodology. Antinaturalists disagree with naturalists, believing that differences between natural and social phenomena mandate that a different approach should be used to study social phenomena. Contrary to "hard" natural sciences, the "soft" social science approach should be based on subjectivist epistemology, relativist ontology, and qualitative methodology. Critical theorists partially agree with naturalists and antinaturalists, accepting naturalists' methodology and antinaturalists' subjectivity. At the same time, critical theorists partially disagree with naturalists' and antinaturalists' approaches, rejecting naturalists' ontological beliefs in relativity of truth and naturalists' epistemological belief in the objectivity of a researcher. Finally, pluralists advocate equality of all approaches arguing that all these approaches have a right to co-exist because they are generating different types of knowledge, motivated by various research interests, and guided by distinct scientific ideals.

Different responses to the issue of how social phenomena should be studied have shaped alternative philosophical orientations in the contemporary philosophy of social science.

These diverse philosophical orientations are founded on dissimilar assumptions about the nature of reality (ontology), the nature of relationships between the knower and the known (epistemology), and approved ways to conduct investigations (methodology). Combinations of these ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions are often referred to as alternative research paradigms. Paradigms predetermine a specific approach to the study of social phenomena (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Four major research paradigms are widely recognized by researchers: (1) the logico-positivist/empiricist paradigm; (2) constructivism; (3) critical theory; and (4) the pluralist paradigm (Braybrooke, 1987; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Gultung 1990; Little, 1991). These are reviewed in the first section of this chapter.

Logico-Positivist/Empiricist Paradigm

Advocates of the logico-positivist/empiricist paradigm, which Martin & McIntyre (1997, p. 533) identified as being derived from the naturalist approach, suggest that the study of social phenomena by social scientists should be approached in the same way as the study of natural phenomena are approached by those working in the natural sciences. They perceive the goals of science to be prediction, control, and nomological explanation. The task of the researcher is to uncover and formulate time-and-context free cause-effect laws, which are often expressed in rigorous mathematical terms. Although there are several schools of thoughts within the naturalistic approach (e.g. empiricism, falsificationism, postpositivism, etc.), there are common denominators among them. These include: (1) the ontological belief that apprehensible reality exists and is governed by invariant laws (realism); (2) the epistemological assumption that subjective values of the researcher can be excised from the research process through proper research design, sample choice, and validity and reliability checks (objectivism); and (3) the methodological approach that relies heavily on quantitative methods, statistical measures, and empirical verifications of propositional hypotheses (experimental methodology) (Arndt, 1985; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Martin & McIntyre, 1997).

Arndt (1985) notes that although the origin of the naturalist approach is attributed to the French philosopher Auguste Comte who defended positivism as a scientific method, naturalism is part of the Anglo-American philosophy of science tradition. It is the most dominant orientation in modern American social science thought, which includes the park and recreation and the marketing fields (Arndt 1985; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This hegemony is

maintained by pressures to conform through the narrow empiricist perspective which is characteristic of most Ph.D. programs; the prevalence of this model in most articles in major journals; preferred access to funding by proposals using this model; and the conservative approach adopted by promotion and tenure committees (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Arndt (1985, p. 19) noted that each new generation of researchers is "born into" the naturalist approach, rather than consciously selecting it, and if a dissident researcher decides to pursue a different approach then he or she would likely be condemned ".... to suffer the slow burnout of never emerging from the journals' revision purgatories." In the marketing literature, the naturalist approach has been rigorously defended and advocated by Hunt (1983).

Constructivism

A major tenet of the constructivist paradigm is a shift from the ontological belief that reality exists and that it is driven by eternal laws, to the ontological assumption that reality is more or less comprised of informed multiple constructions held by social actors and that these constructions are alterable. While Martin & McIntyre (1997) refer to the constructivist orientation as an *antinaturalist* approach, Morrow & Brown (1994) designate the same orientation as a *humanistic* orientation in the social sciences. Antinaturalists or humanists contend that there are substantial differences in the subject matter of the natural and social sciences, which demand there be different approaches to the study of social and natural phenomena. Antinaturalists deny nomological explanations and argue that causality, generalizations, predictions, and mathematical laws have little or no importance in the social sciences.

According to constructivists, social phenomena are intrinsically meaningful. They are shaped by the mental constructions that social actors hold and attach to them. Hence, the antinaturalist approach suggests that the goal of science should be unraveling, understanding and reconstructing the meanings held by individuals or groups (*relativism*) and the method of science should be interpretation(*hermeneutics*) from the point of view of the social actor (*verstehen*). Constructivism challenges the distinction between ontology and epistemology, assuming an interactive linkage of the researcher and the object of investigation (subjectivism) so that the findings of an inquiry are themselves a literal creation or construction of the inquiry process. Historical roots of constructivism derive from the literary interpretation and criticism of poets practiced in ancient Greece and the religious

exegesis--an attempt to interpret disputed or hidden meanings of authoritative religious texts. Modern constructivism has been influenced by phenomenological and ethnomethodological traditions and has had a strong effect on European philosophy (Bleicher 1980; Little 1991; Martin & McIntyre 1997; Rabinow & Sullivan 1987). According to Monieson (1988), in the marketing literature the constructivist orientation is rather underdeveloped and the hermeneutic ideal is only beginning to be appreciated (Hirschman 1986).

Critical Theory

Critical theory occupies a niche in social philosophy that is dissimilar to both the naturalist and the antinaturalist approaches. In terms of the nature of reality it seems closer to positivism since it also accepts realism as an ontological belief. However, in terms of relationships between the knower and the known it leans closer to constructivism, since it also advocates subjectivist epistemology. At the same time, critical theory is distant from positivism, criticizing it for objectification of human subjects; and stays far away from constructivist relativism, arguing that social phenomena are a sociohistorical reality that have reified over time. In spite of these ontological and epistemological differences, critical theory to some extent depends on naturalistic and antinaturalistic methodologies, although they are used to attain different goals (Braybrooke 1987; Lakatos & Musgrave, 1970).

Critical theory rejects explanation as a scientific goal. Rather, the goal of critical science is to reveal anti-democratic oppressions, and to liberate humans from prejudices, ignorance, and ideologically frozen conceptions. To achieve these goals, critical theory employs a dialogic/dialectical methodology which attempts to understand the intersubjective meanings, values, and motives of social actors. It attempts to disclose contradictions in social structure caused by hegemony of dominant meanings that are enforced by ideology (Comstock, 1997). Critical theory rejects the positivistic 'objective' picture of social reality and cuts through surface appearances by locating social phenomena in specific historical contexts and by analyzing their inner interrelated relations. Similarly, critical theory goes one step further than constructivism by studying action rather than behavior, and seeking change in addition to interpretation of meanings (Harvey, 1990).

The historical roots of critical theory stem from the works of Aristotle, Plato, Socrates, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Saint-Simon, Weber, and Marx. The roots of modern critical theory stem

from the works of a group of German scholars in the 1920s (Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse) who are commonly referred to as the *Frankfurt School*. In the 1960s, postulates of the Frankfurt School were radically revised by Jurgen Habermas and Anthony Giddens whose ideas have strongly influenced philosophers and social scientists in many countries including North America (Fay, 1987). Three major contemporary academic journals, *Telos*, *Dissent*, and *Theory*, *Culture & Society*, are oriented towards publishing results of critical studies. In the park and recreation and marketing literatures, the critical tradition seems weak and appears to be represented mainly by scholars with non-American ethnic and cultural backgrounds (Monieson, 1988; Wish, Dholakia, & Rose, 1982).

Pluralist Paradigm

Finally, there is a perspective in the philosophy of social science that advocates an holistic and pluralist approach to conducting social science. This "multivaried" perspective stems from the arguments of some philosophers who believe that naturalistic, antinaturalistic, and critical theory approaches are compatible, complementary, and legitimate ways of studying social phenomena. They argue that none of these approaches should have a monopolistic hegemony on representing the ultimately correct science. They have to co-exist in a dialogical position of supplementing rather than competing with each other (Braybrooke, 1987; Gultung, 1990; Israel, 1971; Rabinow & Sullivan, 1987).

Israel's (1971, pp. 343-347) discussion of Habermas' (1967) complex philosophy is one of the best available in the English speaking literature for better understanding this pluralist perspective. It is summarized in Figure 1. Israel interprets Habermas as identifying three types of social scientific ideals: the *natural science ideal,* the *hermeneutic ideal,* and the *ideal of a critical social science*. These three types of scientific ideals have shaped three major research orientations: *positivism*, *structuralism*, and *critical theory*. These three research orientations are stimulated by three different research interests that stimulate production of three different types of knowledge. Positivism produces the *informative* type of knowledge and is motivated mainly by *technical* interest; structuralism produces the *interpretative* type of knowledge and is motivated by *hermeneutic/interpretative* interest; finally, critical theory produces *criticism* and is motivated by *emancipatory* interest. The three types of interests and three types of knowledge are targeted on three main media--*work*, *language*, and *power*--which, according to Habermas, are necessary for the

maintenance of a social system (Figure 1). The major premise of the pluralist paradigm is that "all social acts should be understood *from three different constituent* conditions: language; the basic process of production by which 'nature is transformed;' and social power relations." (Israel, 1971 p. 345, italics from the original).

In broad terms, the pluralist paradigm states that positivism (naturalist) approaches are effective for conducting social science. However, by focusing exclusively on what is truth and what is false causes this approach to ignore the role of values, which contributes to the conservation of existing social conditions. Therefore, there is a need to supplement this positivistic approach with critical social science, which uncovers and reveals dominant values by analyzing whether or not they are acceptable in the context of a healthy and democratic social system. However, to achieve this goal, critical social science, in its turn, should be accompanied by hermeneutics, which seek a deep and rich understanding of meanings held by social actors and to identify the ways in which these meanings influence their behavior (Gultung, 1990).

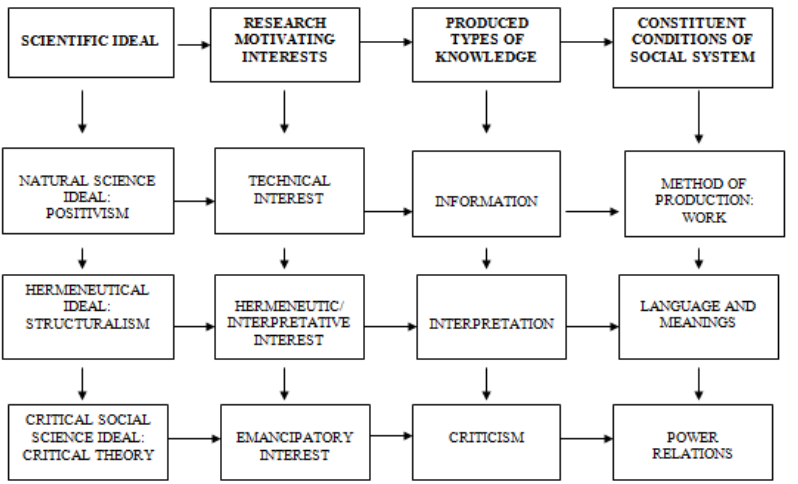

Figure 1. *Habermas' Pluralist Paradigm*

In the marketing literature the pluralist tradition has been represented by the work of Monieson (1982; 1988), and Arndt (1985) whose philosophical orientation relies heavily on the work of Gutlung (1990). Pluralists seek to break free from the paradigmatic provincialism which they perceive characterizes current marketing science. To achieve this goal, advocates of

pluralism suggest that: (1) the dominant naturalist approach in marketing should be diluted by adopting alternative research orientations such as criticism and constructivism (Arndt, 1985; Hirschman, 1986); (2) marketing scholars should practice their right to dissent, to understand, and to be simple (Monieson, 1982); (3) a diverse array of research paradigms to better reflect subjective experiences, values, criticism, and conflicts should be brought into marketing science (Arndt, 1985); and (4) different metaphors within alternative research paradigms (e.g. alienated man, victimized consumers, language and text, experienced man, irrational man, political economies, and the political marketplace) should be recognized by marketing scholars (Arndt, 1981; 1985; Pandya & Dholakia, 1992). Although their approach has been debated (Hunt, 1983), the voices of pluralists have ignited a philosophical rethinking both of general marketing theory and of the conceptualization of public sector marketing in the context of public sector management (Walsh, 1994).

Choice of Research Orientation

Arndt (1985) suggested that the emergence of the broadening of marketing paradigm, and the consequent emergence of the transactional concept of public sector marketing was attributable to dominance of the naturalist (positivist) research orientation in the marketing literature. Such an approach rests on three major foundations: monism, physicalism, and reductionism. Monism means that all scientific disciplines are part of a higher order discipline. Thus, soft and hard science are unified and should use the same hypothetico-deductive method. Physicalism postulates that the same single hypothetico-deductive method practiced by both soft and hard sciences should be accompanied by the same ideals of unified science (e.g. those commonly accepted in physics should be accepted in recreation and parks and in marketing). These ideals are a drive for objectivity, a focus on prediction and control, and a search for eternal, time-space-context-value free, axiomatic, generic, and universal laws. These ideals of unified science give rise to the logic of reductionism which studies human, recreation and marketing behavior like a physical entity. Behavior is reduced to its parts and these parts are reified--"treated like things manipulable in the experimental laboratory and measured by interval or ordinal scales." (Arndt, 1985 p. 14).

Kotler's (1972) generic concept of marketing; Bagozzi's (1975) typology of marketing exchange; and Hunt's (1976) elaboration of the scope and nature of marketing are major studies in the context of public sector marketing that can be identified as lying between

the logico-positivist/empiricist and the hermeneutic/interpretative paradigms. Kotler (1972) used the fundamental theorem of economic exchange, and a neutral approach to business and public sector organizations, to develop the generic concept of marketing expressed in positivistic terms which was defined by four axioms with 15 corollaries. Kotler's perspective was advanced further by Bagozzi (1975) who developed a typology of marketing exchange based upon a deeper understanding and interpretation of exchange processes, using insights drawn from the anthropological and sociological literatures. Hunt (1976) cemented this perspective of marketing as an exchange process by establishing the scope and nature of generic marketing with positive-normative, micro-macro, and profit-nonprofit dimensions. Marketing academia generally accepted and recognized these positivistic intellectual ideas as objective truth, and contended that controversy about the validity of extending the marketing concept to nonprofit and government organizations was over (Nickels, 1974; Lovelock & Weinberg, 1978).

Once that widespread acceptance and recognition had been achieved, the next logical steps in the domain of public sector marketing studies should have included: a search for additional empirical support for the concept; further improvement and refinement of public sector marketing theory; additional investigation of the complexities of exchange in the public sector context; and cross comparison of public and private agencies and their managers who accept or reject the marketing concept as part of management actions. However, these follow-up studies have failed to consolidate the ongoing premise. The failure is exemplified by: (1) little empirical evidence emerging during the last two or three decades to support the concept, and a strange reluctance of researchers to engage in such studies (Hirschman, 1986; Monieson, 1988); (2) overwhelming acceptance of the concept among marketing scholars, and explicit rejection of the same concept by a substantial proportion of public administrators, including park and recreation professionals (Hunt, 1976; Schultz *et al.,* 1988; Vandeen Heede & Pelican, 1991); and (3) confusion as to the meaning of standard exchange terminology, resulting often in mutually exclusive interpretations of exchange forms and structures (Carman, 1980; Bagozzi, 1975; Pandya & Dholakia, 1992).

These discrepancies suggest that among the three major research approaches discussed above, both the logico-positivist/empiricist and the hermeneutic/interpretative paradigms are poorly equipped to address the study problem. In accordance

with its philosophical tenets, the logico-positivist/empiricist research paradigm would involve searching for empirical data using experimental methodology, rigorous research design, sampling procedures, ordinal or nominal scales, and extensive statistical analysis. In contrast, the hermeneutic/interpretative research paradigm would concentrate on production of knowledge through interpretation, denying objectivity and focusing on developing a deeper understanding of exchange processes within the public sector context. The literature offers several arguments which challenge the appropriateness of such approaches to the problem of concern in this study.

The current conceptualization of public sector marketing does require extensive empirical testing. During the last two decades it has flourished in the academic literature without adequate empirical support, according to Monieson (1988). However, results of such studies may produce biased results reflecting the expectations of the researcher. Rosenthal (1968) showed in a series of studies that expectations of researchers can bias their research results and his works challenged assumptions about objectivity in the research process. The philosophical literature seems to support this conclusion (Marshall, 1990; Zeller, 1987). This suggests that researchers can find confirmatory or disconfirmatory support for the existing conceptualization of public sector marketing depending on the intellectual traditions of a preferred school of thought. Within the marketing discipline alone there are twelve schools of thought (Sheth *et al.,* 1988). Public sector marketing embraces the public administration field, which includes park and recreation, and within it there are also several schools of thought (e.g. rational choice school, managerialism). The theoretical traditions of a particular school of thought can easily bias the conclusions of a study.

Even though some consensus or parallel can be found between schools of thought in the public administration and marketing fields, there are some methodological difficulties associated with the choice of the logico-positivist/empiricist research orientation. For example, it is likely to be challenging to compare groups of public administrators and marketing practitioners, and to draw conclusions from their responses. This problem is referred to in the social science literature as a *Lord's paradox* (Levine, 1974). Lord (1967) showed that there were two logically consistent statistical procedures for comparing differences between groups in a selected data set. However, these two procedures when used on the same data set yielded completely opposite conclusions and there were no commonly accepted criteria to guide when to use which method of

analysis. As Lord (1967, p. 305) concluded: "The usual research study of this type [analysis of differences between groups] is attempting to answer a question that simply cannot be answered in any rigorous way on the basis of available data." Besides philosophical criticism of positivism (Feyerbend, 1962; Toulmin, 1972), the popular literature seems to support Lord's conclusion, arguing that with manipulation of statistical procedures it is possible to camouflage the truth (Huff 1954).

Kotler & Levy's (1969a), Kotler's (1972), Hunt's (1976), and especially Bagozzi's (1975) studies to some extent reflect hermeneutic tradition, since all of them were intended to offer deeper understanding and interpretation of exchange processes in nonbusiness organizations. However, the explicit axiomatic and lawlike conclusions drawn from these studies, clearly separate them from ontological and epistemological assumptions underpinning the hermeneutic tradition. Relatively recent studies targeted on deepening the understanding of exchange processes in social organizations, and which therefore might be considered as being positioned within the hermeneutic perspective, have reached less axiomatic and generic conclusions. Carman's (1980, pp. 12-13) extension of his earlier work (1973) on the universality of marketing recognized that existing conceptualizations of exchange structures in the marketing literature were "confusing" and "controversial." Almost two decades, Kerin (1996, p. 6) used the same word, "controversial," when discussing the marketing broadening proposition and nontraditional applications of marketing. Robin (1978) returned to the original debate on the broadening marketing proposition and tested both Luck's (1969) apologist approach based on the notion of *quid pro quo* and Bagozzi's (1975) "marketing as exchange" approach against four normative criteria: abstraction, correspondence, pragmatism, and simplicity. He found that that the Bagozzi's approach failed to satisfy all four criteria, while Luck's approach failed to satisfy only one of them. Robin suggested replacing Bagozzi's approach with specific definitions relating to general marketing and social marketing. Pandya & Dholakia (1992) echoed Robin's conclusions and offered an institutional theory of marketing exchange.

These studies suggest that a hermeneutic research orientation designed to interpret public sector marketing might be preferable for the current study. However, there are several arguments which cast doubts on the appropriateness of such a choice. These arguments relate to the general criticism of hermeneutics as a research orientation, rather than to specific studies. First, interpretative type of knowledge has been criticized by both

positivists and critical theorists for producing the so called paradox of the *hermeneutic circle* which represents an endless process of interpretation (Morrow & Brown, 1994). This paradox stems from epistemological assumptions about relative truth which exclude ultimate and "correct" interpretation, and makes findings from previous interpretative studies tentative since there is no ultimate truth to be found according to the postulates of relativism. This nihilistic disbelief in genuine knowledge implies that it will never be known if the earth revolves around the sun, if the Holocaust occurred during World War II, and if Great Britain's drive in the nineteenth century to abolish slavery in cultures around the world was right (Hunt, 1994). Thus, there is a danger that a study that attempts to interpret exchange relationships, and is intended to enhance understanding of public sector marketing, would be lacking in worth and meaning. It would never be known if the results and conclusions of this study (as well as the three decades of attempts to interpret exchange relationships in the marketing, public administration, and parks and recreation literatures) are correct and final.

The second argument for selecting a hermeneutic research orientation stems from the history of hermeneutics itself. The hermeneutics approach still seems loyal to the traditions of the religious exegesis, in which disputed or hidden meanings of authoritative religious texts were interpreted over time without challenging the authoritative position of the text itself. In other words, the interpretation process within the hermeneutics tradition is limited to polishing the sacred text rather than to evaluating its authoritative status. While every new interpretation brings new meanings or replaces disputed or previous ones, the interpretation process maintains the authoritative status quo of the text. Morrow and Brown (1994) refer to this as "post-structuralism" that promises everything but requires no engagement in the polity. For example, most interpretative studies that have attempted to interpret nonprofit marketing and refute the Kotler-Bagozzi-Hunt transactional interpretation of generic and nonprofit marketing, challenge the forms and types of exchange rather than the concept of exchange itself. Pandya & Dholakia's (1992) institutional theory of exchange in marketing, Carman's (1980) paradigms for marketing theory, and Robin's scope of marketing, all offer some form or type of exchange rather than replacing the authoritative notion of exchange itself. As a result, the marketing literature offers numerous forms and types of exchange concepts rather than a conceptual alternative which could have been accepted not only by marketing scholars but also by public administrators. These

forms and types of exchange processes are often confusing, controversial, inconsistent, and sometimes even mutually exclusive though all of them are based on almost the same literature sources.

For these reasons, Habermas (1967), who advocated a pluralist approach espoused a major crucial objection to pure reliance on the hermeneutical or interpretative tradition in approaching the study of social phenomena. He argued that the language and meanings held by individuals are affected by "inner" and "outer" forces, such as the law and power relations which exist within every society. It is possible to discuss meanings without asking their source, just as it is possible to talk a language without knowing its grammatical rules (Israel, 1971). Hence, the choice of a hermeneutic research orientation seems to be of limited value for studying the problem of interest in the current study. It would avoid discussion of the authoritative position espoused in existing marketing texts and follow the paths of linguistic science--studying meanings without affecting their authoritative status. The outcome of such a study would likely be further semantic terminology distinctions that would only add to the prevailing confusion in terminology. Moreover, the study could not claim to be a final solution of the problem, since any thick interpretation is never final according to the relativist ontological postulates that underlie the hermeneutic tradition.

These reservations suggest that choice of paradigm for the current study should lie either within the pluralist tradition, or within the most neglected paradigm in the parks and recreation and marketing literatures--critical theory, which includes considerations of power relationships. Although choice of the pluralist tradition is a plausible option, it is technically more difficult. In the author's judgement it would likely require implementation of at least three independent and methodologically different studies, conducted by a team consisting of three researchers with three different types of academic training and philosophical beliefs. The magnitude of resources needed to implement this approach caused the author to discard it from consideration for this study.

Selection of the Critical Theory Orientation

The nature of the study problem discussed in Chapter I, suggests that the prevailing conceptualization of the public sector marketing concept needs to be strategically and conceptually repositioned, re-situated, and reformulated before it will be widely accepted and recognized by park and recreation and other public administrators. Thus, the current study does not seek to enhance

depth of understanding of the existing public sector marketing concept. Rather, its concern is on emancipation, which involves revealing, analyzing, criticizing, rejecting or modifying those tendencies that limit wider acceptance of the concept. These tasks are congruent with the goals of critical theory which seeks to understand conceptual content and the historical context of distorted meanings, identifies progressive tendencies, develops alternative understandings, and offers educative programs and transformative actions (Comstock, 1997; Fay, 1987; Harvey, 1990; Morrow & Brown, 1994).

Although Harvey (1990, p. 2) acknowledges that "there is no simple methodic recipe for doing critical social research," some general characteristics of critical research orientation and methodology can be identified. First, many critical studies stem from the central assumption underlying critical theory methodology, which is that knowledge is structured by existing sets of social and power relations (Harvey, 1990). This assumption determines the primary goal of critical methodology--to generate knowledge that penetrates the prevailing social and power structures. These structures are seen as oppressive mechanisms with a diversity of patterns. For example, forms of oppression studied by critical researchers can be based on gender, class, and race (Harvey, 1990); age, disability, and sexuality (Morrow & Brown, 1994); dominance of the positivistic paradigm in the methodological literature (Arndt, 1985); and further penetration of microeconomic concepts into the social sciences (Monieson, 1988). Such diversity of oppression forms in social life determines the primary mission of critical theory--to identify oppression forms by getting beneath the surface of meanings that are taken for granted, generating knowledge that reveals the roots and sources of oppressive mechanisms, and liberating perspectives and understandings through education and enlightenment programs (Comstock, 1997; Fay, 1987).

A second characteristic of many critical studies appears to be related to the notion of contradiction. A critical study usually begins with observation, concern, frustration, or doubt that provokes inquiry. In the methodological literature these concerns have been characterized as myths, consisting of taken-for-granted meanings, which often incorporate anomalies or contradictions (Harvey, 1990). Contradiction is encoded in the logic of thesis-antithesis-synthesis that is the core of most critical studies. This logic implies that explanations of social phenomena (thesis) may have opposite explanation (antithesis) that should be integrated into a progressive superior explanation (synthesis). Contradiction (or

rebelian antithesis to the dominant or oppressive thesis) is a some kind of anomaly or an abnormal state of affairs observed by critical scientists in the social world. McMurtry's (1997) excellent summary of contradictions inherent in Frederich A. Hayek's laissez-faire free market ideology serves as a good example of contradiction. Thus, Hayek's popular thesis suggests that "deregulation," "privatization" and "public sector cutback" to "develop the free markets" is a move toward "more democracy". McMurtry (1997, p. 650) challenges this view, and suggests a counterargument (antithesis) which he supports with empirical evidence. He argues that according to United States Congressional statistics, the top 1% of population controls more private wealth than the bottom 90% in the U.S. More privatization of public sector means greater transfer of power to a very small minority who already possess most of the power. According to McMurtry, such a transfer of resources from an electorally responsible and accountable public sector to the wealthiest 1% of the population, reduces rather than increases the democratic process. The paradox between the claimed increase of democracy through privatization of the public sector and the actual decrease in the democratic processes when this is done is perceived by McMurtry to be a contradiction. This contradiction serve as a driving force for using the critical research process in his study.

The presence of contradiction suggests at least three major lines of critical study in an inquiry. The first line of concern relates to the task of finding out "what is essentially going on." The second line of concern is to find out why this particular contradiction, anomaly, or myth has "historically been the case." Finally, a third line of concern focuses on identifying and analyzing oppressive structures that have contributed to perpetuation of the anomaly and to answer the question "what structures reproduce this state of affairs" (Harvey, 1990, p. 209).

A third characteristic of many critical studies is that discussion of contradiction leads to formulation of an educational program seeking change and suggesting actions to correct the contradiction. Many critical studies usually end with recommendations, a reconstructed alternative concept, a theory or a program designed to change the situation. Such educational programs are intended to reveal, enlighten, or convince the public of the inherent weaknesses of the contradictions, and the study results are treated as testimony. For this reason, the work of critical researchers is often compared to investigations of detectives and reporters. Like them, critical researchers seek out clues, follow trails and leads, make a case, and finally present testimony to the jury (research

community) and the juror (the editor of a professional journal) for cross-examination (Douglas, 1976; Harvey, 1990; Levine, 1974). The act of accepting the results of critical research for publication or as the focus for professional discussion and debate, suggests that a meaningful case was made.

A fourth characteristic of critical studies is the format of critical research reports and the language that critical researchers use. Since the ultimate goal of critical research is communicating change to a public, the language should be understandable to those publics. Hence, critical researchers tend to avoid "overscientific" numeric language which is often employed in positivistic studies, in favor of natural language which better facilitates understanding. Critical researchers try to eschew neo-scholasticism in which research conclusions are packaged in complex theories and jargon that sometimes obscure the main point (Morrow & Brown, 1994). Accordingly, the style of language often is passionate and is in the subjective form, similar to the language style used by newspaper journalists and columnists, attorneys and prosecutors, or by "101 introduction to a discipline" text-book writers.

Critical researchers tend to avoid the "traditional" structure of positivistic reports and employ a report format that Harvey (1990) termed "a story with a plot." A critical study report presents a central question that is being addressed. The core argument is present in skeleton form throughout the study, but is gradually supported by data as the study proceeds. Critical reports typically present evidence in the form of analogies, use references to commonly known and observed facts, offer citations of previously published works in academic journals, and collect original empirical data from key informants (Etzioni, 1988). Recent examples of "story with a plot" study formats, include Kuttner's (1997) critique of laissez-faire capitalism; McMurtry's (1997) work on the contradictions of free markets; Monieson's (1988) work on intellectualization forces in the marketing science; and Capon & Mauser' (1982) review of nonprofit texts.

A fifth general characteristic of critical research relates to the overall research design of critical studies. Critical theory rejects the quantitative-qualitative distinction of differentiating methodologies. Critical theorists argue that the quantitative-qualitative distinction focuses attention on techniques through which social life is represented, rather than upon the process of representing social reality. Such a distinction between qualitative and quantitative methods hides a fundamental distinction between approaches to recognizing a set of individuals as a social group,

and defining those individuals as a sociological aggregate (Morrow & Brown, 1994).

Defining a set of individuals as a sociological aggregate assumes that individuals are independent from each other, and that society is a structured aggregate of externally related individuals and casual "factors." The focus of such research leads to a preference for casual modeling and statistical analysis integrated into “extensive research design,” where a large number of cases are considered but the number of their properties is reduced in the analysis. (Morrow & Brown, 1994). In contrast, recognizing a set of individuals as a social group suggests studying individuals as participants in communities, classes, institutions, and cultural discourses. The locus of such research is social and incorporates a review of the systemic relations that constitute society. This leads to a preference for case studies and comparative analysis, integrated into “intensive research designs” that consider a small number of cases, but with a greater number of individual properties chosen for analysis (Morrow & Brown, 1994). Since critical social science accepts the premise that a set of individuals is a social group, it prefers intensive research designs that presume a small number of cases with broad characteristics studied by a wide diversity of both qualitative and quantitative methods. Critical theorists argue that it is not the methods that characterize social research, it is the way methods and data are used to evaluate the main argument.

A final crucial characteristic of critical studies relates to recognition of critique as a type of knowledge and defending it, along with empirical tools, and non-empirical reflexive research techniques, as a legitimate procedure for research. Morrow &Brown (1994, p. 229) summarize this: "there are important nonempirical, even "nonscientific" (in the usual sense), factors that have--and should--play a role in the rational development of science." Similarly, Harvey (1990, p. 196) in a review of prominent critical studies concluded:

> Critical social research is clearly not constrained by its data collection techniques. The empirical studies analyzed above include the whole gamut of research tools: observation, both participant and non-participant; formal interviews with random samples; semi-structured, unstructured and in-depth interviewing; key informant testimonies, analysis of personal and institutional documents; mass media analysis; archive searching; examination of official statistics; and review of published literature. Furthermore, critical social research also uses a variety of analytic techniques: enthographic interpretation, historical reconstruction, action

> research, multivariate analysis, structuralist deconstruction, and semiological analysis.

This is not an exhaustive list of data collection and analytic techniques used by critical theorists. Non-empirical, reflexive procedures practiced by critical researchers to generate critical type of knowledge also include such techniques as methatheoretical, deconstructive, historicist, existential, and normative argumentation; philosophical criticism; contextualization and discursive reading of research; personal or insider knowledge, and biographical method (Morrow & Brown, 1994; Smith, 1992).

Harvey (1990, p. 102) emphasized that critical social research is "an imaginative and creative process" that "cannot be summed up in a procedural recipe." Rather each critical study in some sense is unique, and choice of data collection and analytic techniques in each study is determined by the nature of the problem. What is general among critical studies that distinguishes them from other exploratory or interpretive approaches, is the way data are collected and the framework within which data are analyzed. Critical studies do not look for causes of observed social phenomena and do not limit themselves to interpretation of meanings. They get beneath the surface of apparent social reality to reveal the nature of dominant social structures and to shatter illusions (Harvey, 1990). Wainwright (1997, p. 6) reached similar conclusions about the general characteristics of critical research:

> To summarize, although critical social research is diverse and constantly developing, the following characteristics are essential to the approach: the application of dialectical logic which views the material and social world as in a constant state of flux; the study of phenomena over time to reveal their historical specificity; the critique or deconstruction of existing phenomenal forms and analytical categories that delves beneath the superficial appearances available to unaided common sense to reveal the network of social and economic relations that are the essential conditions of existence for a phenomenon; the exposure of previously hidden oppressive structures; and a praxiological orientation in which knowledge is considered to be inseparable from conscious practical activity.

Thus, these general specifics of most critical studies have determined the framework, language, format, and many other features of the current study. It is intended to get beneath the taken-for-granted beliefs held by most marketers (Nickels, 1974) regarding the concept of public sector marketing. It attempts to use simple language, and the story-with-a-plot format. It formulates a contradiction. It identifies oppressive or dominant structures. It

develops an alternative concept of public sector marketing. It uses an intensive research design, focusing on a small number of cases with thick analysis and description of multiple characteristics. It employs both empirical and non-empirical data collection and analytical techniques to collect evidence and validate conclusions. Finally, it results in recommendations on how to improve and reconsider the prevailing controversy over the public sector marketing concept.

An Overview of the Implementation of Critical Theory in This Study

Yin (1994, p. 64) recommended using a study protocol as part of a carefully designed research project. A study protocol is the document that summarizes all actions to be taken by a researcher during the study. Such a protocol includes: (1) overview of project objectives; (2) field data collection, and analytic procedures; (3) questions addressed during the study; and (4) guide for the report outline. A protocol may include information about sources of evidence, units of analysis, objectives, field procedures, and study questions. Additionally, a study protocol presents a generic analytic strategy which guides the decision regarding what will be analyzed, where, how, and for what reason. Miles & Huberman (1996) recommended the use of arrays, matrices, flowcharts, data displays, and cross-tabulations to facilitate overall presentation of a study design. A similar technique was suggested by Chenail (1997) who argued that in order to organize a general line of research decisions it is useful to address at least four components of study design: (1) area of curiosity; (2) mission question; (3) data to be collected; and (4) data analysis procedures. Taken together these recommendations are summarized into a protocol of the analytic strategy used in the present study (Table 1).

Description of Analytic and Data Collection Techniques

To achieve the objectives of the study, variety of empirical and non-empirical data collection and analytic techniques were used. These techniques included critique of texts, biographical methods, in-depth interviewing, philosophical criticism, deconstructive argumentation, contextualization and discursive reading of previously published research, interpretation of problematic meanings, the Internet search, and peer debriefing. Some of these methods were used together, complementing and supplementing each other. For the purpose of simplicity and ease of presenting

findings, all data collection and analytic techniques were classified into two categories: empirical and non-empirical procedures.

Table 1: *Protocol of the Study*

Objectives	1. To identify the reasons and concerns of those public administrators and marketing scholars who do not accept the usefulness of marketing in the public sector (negativists).	2. To deconstruct, comprehend, interpret, and critically appraise the current conceptualization of public sector marketing from the viewpoint of negativists identified in step 1.	3. To reconstruct, redefine, reinterpret, and reoperationalize the current controversial conceptualization of public sector marketing into a new conceptualization in the context of park and recreation services.
Research Questions	What are the major concerns and reasons for non-acceptance of the public sector marketing concept among reluctant public administrators and marketing scholars?	What are the assumptions, conceptualizations and disciplinary perspectives underlying the concept?	Can a superior conceptualization be developed which is likely to be acceptable to a large proportion of public park and recreation administrators?
Analytic and Data Collection Techniques	Non-empirical procedures: Investigative Research.	Non-empirical procedures: Investigative Research & Negative Case Analysis.	Non-empirical procedures: Theoretical Triangulation. Empirical procedures: Peer debriefing, In-depth Interviews. Presentations, Discussions.
Sources of Evidence	Studies and works published in the Park and Recreation, Public administration, and Marketing literatures.	Marketing textbooks and studies; studies published in the social science literature, The Internet, WWW.	Pool of concepts found during investigative research and negative case analysis. Peer, scholars, practitioners, experts.
Report Format	Chapter I-III: narrative.	Chapter IV: narrative with figures and tables.	Chapters IV-VII: narrative with figures, tables and conceptual development

Non-empirical procedures were grouped into three major subsections: investigative research, negative case analysis, and theoretical triangulation. Empirical procedures were grouped into two major sub-sections: interview and peer debriefing.

Non-Empirical Procedures

Investigative Research. The investigative research was undertaken because the concept of public sector marketing is accepted by a majority of marketing scholars but, at the same time, rejected by many public administrators. The notions of investigative research (Douglas, 1976) and an underlying adversary research paradigm (Levine, 1974), emerged in response to limitations identified in the statistical analysis and cooperative research paradigm. Levine (1974, p. 669) noted:

> By an adversary model, I mean that we are dealing with a situation in which there are claims and counterclaims, and arguments and couterarguments, each side advanced by an advocate who attempts to make the best possible case for his position. The scientific community, in the form of an editor, a referee, or a program committee, acts as a judge does in a preliminary hearing, deciding whether there is a sufficient case made in the particular study to take it to trial before the scientific community.

Douglas (1976, p. 57) maintains that the work of researchers who use the adversary model is similar to the work of detectives, investigative journalists, judges, and prosecutors. All of them are confronted with the same type of problems: misinformation, evasions, lies, fronts, taken-for-granted meanings, problematic meanings, and self-deceptions.

Investigative research, along with biographical methods, was comprised of several steps. First, through a literature review the views of the original authors who contributed to development of the public sector marketing concept were identified. Second, using publicly available interactive media resources, such as the Internet, authors' affiliations were reviewed and their professional biographies analyzed. Third, social science disciplines that have influenced the development of public sector marketing were identified. Fourth, concepts borrowed by marketers from the social science disciplines identified in step three have been reviewed and analyzed. Fifth, the meaning of concepts identified in step four were defined and compared with their interpretation in the marketing literature. Sixth, if discrepancies in interpretations were found, discomfirmatory data were recorded and their original meanings as postulated by the original authors were summarized. In summary, the investigative research reported in Chapter IV, identified disciplinary and conceptual sources of the public sector marketing concept, comparing them with original and postinterpretation by marketers.

The rationale for choosing investigative research included a need to test the extent to which the current concept of public sector marketing is objective and values free. Morrow & Brown (1994) contend that circumstances of theory production (e. g., contract research) or characteristics of the theory producer (e. g., political party associations, sexual orientation) may affect the conclusive arguments of research. Similarly, Harvey (1990) argues that researchers may experience "pressures" from such sources as research funders, academic administrators, and the business or political establishments during the research process. For example, Ekeh's (1974) critical appraisal of social exchange theory showed how political, philosophical, and ethical beliefs of the theory's author affected overall development of the theory. The task of investigative analysis in this study was to find out whether any of the "pressures," "circumstances of production," or "characteristics of the theory producer" were present in the development of the public sector marketing concept.

Negative Case Analysis. Because several opponents of public sector marketing have persistently identified additional conceptual data that has been ignored in discussion of the public sector marketing concept, the negative case analysis was chosen. Kidder (1981, p. 244) compares procedures of negative case analysis with statistical tests of significance. A goal of both methods is "to handle error variance." During negative case analysis all existing propositions, null hypotheses, or assumptions underlying theories or concepts, are tested and refined against alternative explanations until no or a minimum possible number of alternative explanations are left. Kidder (1981, p. 241) notes: "negative case analysis requires that the researcher look for disconfirming data in both past and future observations. A single negative case is enough to require the investigator to revise a hypothesis." This method is consistent with the Hegelian method of dialectic, which suggests that any proposed thesis should be countered by an antithetical proposition in order to achieve synthesis.

Application of negative case analysis in this study included two major elements. The first element dealt with results of the investigative research and included a search for alternative concepts or disconfirming data. For example, if investigative research found that some concepts from the social science disciplines were borrowed to develop the public sector marketing concept (e. g. the concept of formal organizations from organizational theory, or the concept of social exchange from sociology), then these concepts (the concepts of formal organization and social exchange in our example) were analyzed

and the existence of alternative conceptualizations was investigated in the organizational theory or sociological literatures. If alternative conceptualizations were found then they were studied and analyzed in the context of their usefulness for the public sector marketing discussion.

The second step in negative case analyses was to investigate the potential for conceptual consistency among and between the existing and the revealed alternative concepts. For example, if alternative conceptualizations of both social exchange theory and formal organizations were found, they could be compared with each other looking for possible consistency, connections, or links among them. For instance, were they developed by the same authors, in the same university, at the same period of time? Do they share something in common, for example, the same fundamental premises. If links were found, they could be recorded and analyzed. In summary, the investigative research procedures were focused on "vertical" search and identification of disciplinary and conceptual sources, and the negative case analysis supplemented this analysis by investigating a "horizontal" search of alternative conceptualizations within a particular social science discipline.

Supplemented by investigative research, the negative case analysis attempts to find out if researchers who developed the concept of public sector marketing suppressed evidence. Kahane (1973, p. 233) contends that such actions can occur when a researcher "conceals evidence unfavorable to his own position." It does not necessarily means that a researcher on purpose hid or omitted evidence or alternative concepts. As suggested by Douglas (1976) a researcher may have a diversity of reasons for suppressing evidence. Negative case analysis assists in avoiding the suppression of evidence by checking if alternative conceptualizations were considered and consequentially incorporated.

Maxwell (1996, p. 90) noted that: “the most serious threat to the theoretical validity of an account is not collecting or paying attention to discrepant data, or not considering alternative explanations or understandings of the phenomena you are studying.” The conceptualization of public sector marketing cannot be generic and universal if its originators purposefully or mistakenly ignored alternative explanations. The issue is analogous to public hearings and legal proceedings, where both offensive and defensive parties are given the right to be heard. In order to be fair, the negative case analysis focused on the evidence available and reported *prior* to, and not *after*, development of the concept of public sector marketing.

Theoretical Triangulation. Because some researchers have challenged the appropriateness of the marketing concept based on the voluntary exchange paradigm in the public sector context, the method of theoretical triangulation was adopted. Triangulation involves validating conclusions by using multiple observers, theories, methods and data sources in order to overcome biases associated with a single method, observer, theory, or data source (Patton, 1990). Triangulation is closely associated with the *modus operandi* of detectives, and it partly overlaps investigative research and negative case analysis procedures (Scriven, 1974). Implementation of this method is, in the words of Miles and Huberman (1996, p. 267), mere "analytic induction"--seeing or hearing multiple instances from different sources and reconciling the findings of the different approaches.

Levine (1974, p. 669) suggested that theoretical triangulation could be compared with a cross-examination test:

> … the particular position asserted in a paper is subject to cross-examination or further probing. Attempts by others at replication, new experiments, and inclusive logical critiques of experiments, or of an area of study, may all be viewed as attacks on a particular position by advocates of another position. In legal proceedings, the cross-examination is considered the essential safeguard to the accuracy and completeness of testimony. The cross-examination tests the credibility of the direct testimony, or it brings out additional related facts that may modify the inference one draws from some bit of testimony.

In this study, theoretical triangulation was undertaken in the form of cross-examination of findings identified by investigative research and negative case analysis. One of the goals of theory triangulation, according to Patton (1990), is to understand how different assumptions and fundamental premises held by various stakeholders affect conclusions. Therefore, implementation of theoretical triangulation in this study included not only reconciling, cross-examination, and evaluation of existing null assumptions of public sector marketing with alternative assumptions; but also included an attempt to understand how premises held by the originators of public sector marketing affected their final conclusions, and why some concepts (negative cases) were neglected or significantly reworked. The reason behind choosing theoretical triangulation was an attempt to find out if alternative concepts (negative cases) had potential and usefulness for the conceptualization of public sector marketing in the specific context of the recreation and park field.

Empirical Procedures

Non-empirical procedures provided the researcher with the data and a pool of alternative concepts that emerged from a critique of the current conceptualization of public sector marketing and an analysis of its deficiencies. Moreover, the pool of alternative concepts permitted formulation of an alternative conceptualization of public sector marketing based, on fundamentally different premises. This alternative conceptualization is presented in Chapter V. To evaluate the alternative conceptualization several data collection and analytical techniques were adopted.

Peer debriefing. First, an alternative conceptualization of public sector marketing were discussed with colleagues in the form of debriefing. Colleagues debriefing, which is more commonly termed peer debriefing, is a technique similar to interview, expert evaluation, or receiving feedback from others. It is used in qualitative studies and naturalistic inquiries to validate conclusions. Peer debriefing was deemed necessary because discussion of an alternative concept, and a critique of the existing concept, require the existence of some level of expertise and training in the fields of marketing, public administration, and parks and recreation.

Interviews with managers. Evaluation techniques included in person and telephone interviews with three senior park and recreation practitioners. Because few studies have attempted to test the existing public sector marketing concept especially among public administrators, in-depth telephone interviews with park and recreation administrators were used to collect empirical data and evaluate alternative assumptions. Issues addressed during preparation for the interview included: selecting interviewees; obtaining permissions to conduct and record the interviews; selecting the recording equipment; designing the question pattern; and determining the length of the interview.

The reason for using in-depth interviews was to obtain first-hand perceptions of public park and recreation directors and academics about the public sector marketing concept. The interviews involved three steps. First, an abstract with illustrative figures summarizing the alternative conceptualizations of public recreation marketing, and a cover letter requesting the recipient to prepare feedback on this material was sent out to eight public park and recreation managers and scholars. These materials are shown in Appendix A. Second, two weeks after the letters were mailed the researcher contacted each informant by phone or in person requesting feedback on the conceptualizations and asking permission to record the interview. Third, the interviews were transcribed and the data were analyzed (Appendix B).

In summary, the author believed that the chosen analytical and data collection techniques would best address the three minimum lines of critical inquiry suggested by Harvey (1990). The concern with "what is essentially going on" was addressed in Chapter II, where the researcher attempted to find out what is going on with the "marketing to nonmarketing" problem in the park and recreation, marketing, and public administration literatures. The concern of why the state of affairs has "historically been the case" is addressed in Chapter IV, which explains the historical persistence of the "marketing to nonmarketers" problem. The third concern, "what structures reproduce this state of affairs," also is addressed in Chapter IV which identifies the dominant structures contributing to the persistence of the "marketing to nonmarketers" problem. Chapter V delineates tendencies and alternative concepts and evaluates empirical support for them among academicians and practitioners. On the basis of these empirical results, an alternative conceptualization of public recreation marketing is developed in Chapter VI. Finally, Chapter VII conclusions and an educational program to diffuse the alternative conceptualization is suggested.

Chapter 4.
Results and Analysis of the Non-Emprical Procedures

This chapter introduces and discusses the analysis and results of the investigative research, the alternative case search, and the theoretical triangulation procedures which constitute the methods of critical appraisal used in this study. Discussion of the investigative research results consists of a description of the three assumptions that underlie the current concept of public sector marketing; identification of the disciplinary and conceptual sources that informed these assumptions; and an analysis which explores the correctness of the interpretation of these concepts. The negative case analysis presents the results of a search for alternative concepts and rival cases that may lead to formulation of conceptual alternatives to the three assumptions. Finally, an examination of the existing and of the alternative concepts uses a theoretical triangulation process to evaluate them in terms of their appropriateness for explaining the marketing of park and recreation services.

Results of the Investigative Research

In Chapter II, it was noted that the main methodological advantages of critical theory are its subjectivist approach and its ability to accommodate consideration of power relationships. This enables critical theory to challenge the historical context and social conditions in which a particular concept or theory was formulated. Supporters of critical theory advocate subjectivism, because they believe that a researcher cannot be detached from society, and that some aspects of a particular author's theory can be "… deficient

because of circumstances of its production (e.g., contract research) or characteristics of its producer (e.g., political party associations, sexual orientation)" (Morrow & Brown, 1994, p. 236). The results of the investigative research reported here suggested that the current conceptualization of public sector marketing is deficient, because it was confined to a particularly narrow historical context and set of social conditions, and was influenced by a very specific school of thought.

The Social Exchange School of Marketing

The review of the literature presented in Chapter II showed that the emergence of public park and recreation marketing was influenced by the introduction of the nonprofit marketing concept to the marketing and public administration literatures. In its turn, the assumptions underlying nonprofit marketing were influenced by such logically and conceptually coherent concepts as: broadening the scope of marketing and of consumer behavior (Kotler & Levy, 1969a; Zaltman & Sternthal, 1975); generic and social concepts of marketing (Kotler, 1972); and the marketing-as-exchange paradigm (Bagozzi, 1975). These non-empirical and mostly propositional works, often were justified by references to social science disciplines including economics, economic history, cultural anthropology, sociology, and organizational theory (Belshaw, 1965; Blau & Scott, 1962; Boulding, 1970; Homans, 1969).

Investigative research of public sources, such as those available on the world wide web which include universities' home pages that list biographies and the affiliations of marketing scholars who introduced the nonprofit marketing concept, found that the most active of them (Kotler; Bagozzi; Levy; and Zaltman) were affiliated with the J. L. Kellogg Graduate School of Management at Northwestern University. Sheth *et al.*'s (1988, p. 28) review of twelve schools of marketing identified these scholars with *the social exchange school of marketing* which as they noted was: "destined to be labeled as the most controversial school in the history of marketing."

Further, investigative research suggested that the philosophical and methodological roots of the social exchange school of marketing were derived from the Chicago school of thought in economics. Analysis of biographies of the originators of public and nonprofit sector marketing available on the Internet found that the most prominent of them (Kotler; Zaltman; and Levy) were trained at different times at the University of Chicago. For example, at the University of Chicago, Kotler received a masters degree in

economics, Zaltman received a masters degree in business administration, and Levy received both masters and doctoral degrees in behavioral psychology.

Academic traditions of the Chicago school occupy a special niche in social science. Chicago University is a private institution established by John D. Rockefeller in 1892. During its century of existence it has become one of the most influential universities in America. Dozens of its faculty have been recognized as Nobel laureates including 16 Nobel laureates in the field of economics. The Chicago school occupies a central niche in the social sciences so it has been influential in forming US public policies, stimulating intellectual dialogs and debates, and underpinning social and political philosophies. It promotes a utilitarian-based version of radical individualism and extreme market doctrine, which is widely known as the neoclassical, libertarian, or laissez-faire economic paradigm.

The Chicago school is usually associated with Milton Friedman, and broadly refers "to those who would marketize most of the public sector and who see government as the problem, not the solution, to most economic ills" (Lindeen, 1994, p. 24). Milton Friedman was influenced by a defender and promoter of the laissez-faire school of economics and classical libertarian principles, Frederick A. Hayek (1899-1992). Hayek (1944) in his manifesto, *The Road to Serfdom*, formulated the main principle of the laissez-faire doctrine. This principle suggests that any parties in a market place should be free to produce, buy and sell anything that can be produced or sold at any price at which they can find a partner to the transaction. The negative attitude toward government's intervention stems from this premise.

Another historical root of the laissez-faire doctrine is the extreme social philosophy of Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), who extrapolating from Charles Darwin, coined the term "survival of the fittest" in his book *Social Statics* (1851):

> It seems hard that a laborer incapacitated by sickness from competing with his stronger fellows, should have to bear the resulting privations. It seems hard that widows and orphans should be left to struggle for life or death. Nevertheless, when regarded not separately, but in connection with the interests of universal humanity, these harsh fatalities are seen to be full of the highest beneficence--the same beneficence which brings to early graves the children of deceased parents, and singles out the low-spirited, the intemperate, and debilitated as the victims of an epidemic. (Cited in Schrems, 1986, p. 132).

Modern overtones of the "survival of the fittest" philosophy advocated by the Chicago school can be found in the work of those Chicago school graduates who attempted to introduce marketing in the public sector. Kumcu & Firat (1987, p. 83) noted the commitment of Kotler and his associates to promotion of the Chicago school laissez-faire paradigm and identified overtones of the Spencerian philosophy in their works. They noted, for example, at an international conference on the marketing and development of less developed countries (LDC): "Philip Kotler invited heated arguments from the floor when he suggested that LDCs ought to first let marketing energy come out, and later worry about the problems free markets create." Kumcu and Firat note that such a pro-Spencerian approach to economic development and marketing was not readily accepted by conference participants and Kotler "… was confronted with questions regarding who reaped the benefits and who carried the burdens of such an approach."

In the parks and recreation field, overtones of the laissez-faire libertarian philosophy can be found in suggestions to decentralize governments' functions and shift "power and authority *away from* city government and into the hands of other group." (Belshaw, 1976, p. 93, italics original). Belshaw (1976, p. 94) studied the provision of recreation services in communities in the Vancouver metropolitan region and found that households "felt distant from the decision-making of local governments." His study's conclusions and suggestions were based on the criterion of individual utility postulated by the Chicago economists:

> The study suggested the identification of neighborhood blocks in which close-to-the-people services could be run by local committees. This, in turn, suggested that local government could be built up from such committees—either by election out of neighborhood blocks or appointments from the committees themselves—and that certain kinds of administrative funds could be allocated to the committees for their direct expenditure (p 94).

These libertarian ideas were partially implemented through California's Proposition 13 and Massachusetts Proposition 2 1/2 which significantly reduced government support for public park and recreation in those states and made public park and recreation agencies more dependent on alternative sources of revenue such as user fees.

Major Assumptions of the Social Exchange School of Marketing

The Chicago school, which is the philosophical fundament of the Social exchange school of marketing, broadly assumes that: (1) society and other social collectivities are mere aggregates of individuals and not the structures that integrate social, political, and cultural factors; (2) the individual is the prime decision-making unit and not social collectives such as ethnic and racial groups, peer groups at work, and neighborhood groups or communities; (3) people are cost minimizers and benefit maximizers motivated by personal self-interest on the basis of fully available information; and (4) the market economy can be studied as a separate self-contained system relatively independent from society, polity, and culture (Etzioni, 1988).

Given these assumptions, Chicago economists advocate decentralization, deregulation, privatization, and unlimited individual choice as policy in the search for social prosperity. They argue that limiting individual choice, regulation, and centralization of power and decision making in government hands, creates political and economical shortcomings. These include: lack of responsiveness toward consumers and political institutions, ineffectiveness, poor decisions, lack of coordination, delay, unfair procedures, price-fixing, subsidies and cross-subsidies that create inefficiencies, limiting competition, restricting choice, retarding technology, and acting as a drag on productivity (Smith, 1995).

Although Chicago economists partially agree with mainstream economists that markets can fail because of externalities involved and a need for common public goods such as national defense, they still use the criterion of individual utility as a starting point for understanding the theory of market failure. Thus, the Chicago school suggests that government intervention is needed, only if the benefits of intervention into voluntary exchanges among individuals expressing individual choice exceed the disadvantages of lost freedom (Smith, 1995). As a result of this philosophy, the Chicago school suggests the use of cost-benefit analysis before any government decision to intervene. Armed with a reductionist and intellectualist methodology, the representatives of Chicago school seriously discuss such intangible and symbolic costs and benefits as “warm feelings inside,” “gratitude,“ “clean conscience,” and the like, to support arguments against government regulation (Bagozzi, 1975; Kotler & Levy, 1969a).

The social exchange school of marketing, consistent with Chicago school traditions, advocates interjecting the Chicago

school assumptions, although with some variations, into the public sector. Marketers are interested in "understanding what the organization exchanges with each public; i.e., what each party gives and gets … [and what are] … the motivations underlying their transactions and satisfaction received" (Kotler, 1975a, p. 17). Therefore, the social exchange school of thought postulates three major assumptions underlying the concept of public sector marketing: (1) an open-system model of formal organizations borrowed from organizational theory; (2) the concept of social exchange adapted from sociology; and (3) self-interest motivation advocated by "formalist" economic anthropologists (Table 2). These assumptions and their sources are discussed in the following sub-sections.

An Open-System Model of Formal Organizations. The social exchange school of marketing assumes that an organization is "a purposeful coalescence of people, materials, and facilities seeking to accomplish some purpose in the outside world" (Kotler 1975a, p. 5). Primary functions of such an organization are: (1) input--attraction of sufficient resources; (2) throughput--conversion of these resources into various products; and (3) output--distribution of these throughputs to the public. This conceptualization of a formal organization as a resource conversion machine, is consistent with the precepts of an open-system model of organization whose primary goal is to respond to external and internal pressures.

The open-system model of formal organizations views a park and recreation agency as being at the center of a system that responds directly and quickly to the needs of an array of different publics. The agency has substantial independence to respond quickly to changes in the environment in which it operates.

Table 2: *Results of Investigative Research*

Social Science Discipline	*Concepts Borrowed to Develop Public Sector Marketing*
Organizational Behavior	Open-System Model of Formal Organizations
Sociology	Individualistic Social Exchange Theory
Economic Anthropology	"Formalist" History of Marketing Exchange

The open-system model encourages decentralized decision-making, because success is perceived to depend on being able to respond quickly and adapt to dynamic external and internal pressures. This perspective is not pre-occupied with following pre-established goals. It puts emphasis on efforts to attract additional resources from the external environment beyond those regularly provided by the agency's governing body, to convert these

resources into park and recreation programs and services, and to efficiently distribute these services. The agency is viewed as the primary decision-maker, it does not have to constantly see authority from a higher authority for its actions.

The social exchange school of marketing recognizes four types of formal organizations which are differentiated by the primary beneficiaries of an organization's activities (the *cui bono* criterion). Mutual-benefit associations benefit their members: political parties, unions, fraternal associations, clubs, veterans' organizations, professional associations, and religious sects. Business concerns benefit their owners: industrial firms, mail-order houses, wholesale and retail stores, banks, insurance companies, and similar private for profit organizations. Service organizations benefit those categories of publics who are in direct contact with these organizations: social work agencies, hospitals, schools, legal aid societies, and mental health clinics. Finally, commonweal organizations benefit the public at large: the State Department, Bureau of Internal Revenue, military services, and police and fire departments (Kotler, 1975a, p. 30). Park and recreation agencies would be classified either as service or commonweal organizations, depending on the type of services that were offered by a particular agency.

However, the social exchange school of marketing assumes that in spite of differences among beneficiaries, the primary goal of all types of organizations is to survive through responding to external and internal pressures by attracting, converting, and distributing scare resources in a competitive environment. Since the goals and functions of all formal organizations are generic, then the social exchange school believes that management of all types of formal organizations should be generic (Kotler & Murray, 1975). This school assumes that management of organizations can be differentiated only to the extent that an organization effectively or non-effectively deals with external pressures, performs its basic "resource machine" functions, and achieves the survival goal. Thus, the social exchange school of marketing distinguishes between effective (*responsive* organization) and non-effective (*unresponsive* organization) styles of management.

The conceptualization of an "unresponsive organization" suggests an organization is a bureaucratic organization (in the negative sense of that word) which routinizes operations, replaces personal judgement with impersonal policies, specializes the job of employees, and follows a rigid hierarchy of command. A bureaucratic organization is maladapted to the external environment and, thus, is relatively unresponsive to public needs. It

resists change, responds poorly to external pressures, and is ineffective in performing resource converting functions. In contrast, a "fully responsive organization" implies that the organization effectively responds to external and internal pressures, successfully performs resource converting functions, and achieves the survival goal. Fully responsive organizations are sensitive to public needs, willing to change and adjust their offerings, and seek to survive through providing full satisfaction to their stakeholders.

The concept of a fully responsive organization is synonymous with a "doctrine known as 'the marketing concept'" (Kotler, 1975a, p. 43). The marketing concept is positioned as an alternative to a production or sales orientation and implies "a consumer's needs orientation backed by integrated marketing aimed at generating consumer satisfaction as the key to satisfying organizational goals" (Kotler, 1975a, p. 46). The major thesis advocated by the social exchange school of marketing is that all formal organizations should be fully responsive. That is, they should employ, or at least strive toward adaptation of the marketing concept as the basis for their operations (Kotler, 1975a).

Self-interest and the Public Welfare. The social exchange school of marketing contends that pursuit of personal self-interest is the only motivation for exchange between all formal organizations and their publics. Although Kotler (1975a) avoided the term "self-interest," Bagozzi (1975, p. 34), who acknowledged receiving Kotler's advice, openly recognized self-interest motivation in the context of public sector marketing:

> … many individuals, groups, and firms pursue their own self-interest. This is what Adam Smith meant by his reference to an "invisible hand." Similarly, in his analysis of primitive societies and marketing systems, Frazer has shown that… the pursuit of self-interest can be the foundation for the web of kinship, economic, and social institutions. The recent exchange theories of Homans and Blau are also based on this individualistic assumption of self-interest.

The invisible hand philosophy of Adam Smith is one of the most popular in the Western world. It is especially popular in the United States with its long tradition of individualism and promotion of individual rights. Adam Smith postulated:

> Every individual endeavors to employ his capital so that its produce may be of greatest value. He generally neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it. He intends only his own gain. And he is in this led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention. By pursuing his own interest

> he frequently promotes that of society more effectually than when he really intends it. (Cited in Shafritz & Russell 1997, p. 205).

This philosophy proscribes the mechanics of quid pro quo motivation between individuals and groups or collectives. Adam Smith (1850, p. 7) specified the quid pro quo principle that underlies his philosophy of the invisible hand in the following terms: "whoever offers to another a bargain of any kind, proposes to do this: give me that what I want, and you shall have this which you want."

Although Bagozzi made reference to alternative collectivistic assumptions underlying the exchange mechanism, he did not clearly state these assumptions. Shapiro (1973, p. 124) similarly believed that this central role of self-interest in the context of nonprofit marketing was sufficiently self-evident that there was no need to discuss it: "I shall not bother discussing the concept of self-interest; it can be taken for granted." In summary, the self-interest motivation assumption adopted by the social exchange school of thought in the context of public sector marketing suggests one major conclusion: all relationships between formal organizations and their clienteles are based on self-interest.

Exchange Arrangements. A central tenet of the social exchange school is that *all* formal organizations seek to attain their goals through the voluntary exchange mechanism. They perceive voluntary exchange to be the only alternative to theft, force, and beggary (Kotler, 1975a). Since a formal organization is defined as a resources converting machine which does not resort to force, theft, or selfless giving to attract resources, then the voluntary exchange mechanism is considered to be the most plausible option for formal organizations to attract, convert, and distribute resources.

Kotler (1972) believes that the voluntary exchange of values should be conceptualized as a transaction that, in turn, is the central generic concept of marketing. Such an exchange requires existence of at least two conditions: availability of two parties, and each party possessing some resource that is valued by another party (Kotler 1975a, p. 23). Voluntary exchanges of values are not limited to such conventional resources as "goods, services, and money … [and] include other resources such as time, energy, and feelings" (Kotler, 1972, p. 49).

Kotler (1975a) contends that all formal organizations are involved in at least three types of exchange. First, business concerns and service organizations are involved in voluntary exchange of resources between three parties. Graphically this type

of exchange can be shown as sequence A ⇔ B ⇔ C, where "⇔" signifies "gives to and receives from" (Bagozzi 1975, p. 32), A is an owner or donor, B is business concern or service organization, and C is a customer or client depending on business concern or whether the example relates to a service organization. Second, mutual benefit associations and commonweal organizations are involved in voluntary exchange between two parties. Graphically this type of exchange can be shown as sequence A ⇔ B, where A is a mutual benefit association or commonweal organization and B is a member or citizen depending on whether the example is a mutual benefit association or a commonweal organization. However, when he examined exchange in commonweal organizations such as a police or fire department in more detail, Kotler (1975a, p. 25-28) recognized that:

(1) "there is a question of how voluntary this transaction is" (p. 25);

(2) exchange "seems more like a one-way flow of value" (pp. 27-28); and

(3) dyadic exchange "fails to depict the full sequence of exchange relationships" (p. 28).

Despite these observations, Kotler insisted that commonweal organizations were involved in exchange relationships. Kotler (1975a, p. 25-29):

(1) "a social contract is voluntary entered into" (p. 25);

(2) exchange cannot take place "if one of the parties has nothing that is valued by the other party," that is, one-way flow is not an exchange (p. 23); and

(3) "there is a third party, the local government, that enters into exchange relations" (p. 28).

In summary, using these assumptions and a fire department as an example, Kotler offered a diagram of a third type of exchange relationships in commonweal organizations. Graphically this exchange is represented as a closed sequence of relationships A ⇔ B ⇔ C ⇔ A, where A is a fire department, B is local government, and C is citizens.

Bagozzi (1975), who was doing graduate work under Kotler's supervision, extended this typology of exchanges further by drawing upon anthropological and sociological literature. Bagozzi was more specific and identified three types of voluntary exchange (restricted, generalized, and complex) which exhibited three classes of meanings (utilitarian, symbolic, and mixed). Types of exchange refer to the number of parties involved in a transaction and the direction(s) of the exchange. Classes of meanings relate to the reasons or, more broadly, motivations for the occurring

exchanges. Juttner & Wehrli (1994) by relating meanings to the three different types of exchange, conveniently presented Bagozzi's framework in the form of a matrix (Figure 2).

First, Bagozzi (1975) distinguishes between utilitarian, symbolic, and mixed meanings of exchange. A utilitarian or purely economic exchange is "an interaction whereby goods are given in return for money or other goods and the motivation behind the action lies in the anticipated use or tangible characteristics commonly associated with the objects of exchange" (p. 36). Symbolic exchange refers to "the mutual transfer of psychological, social, or other intangible entities between two or more parties" (p. 36). Mixed exchange involves "both utilitarian and symbolic aspects, and it is difficult to separate the two" (p. 36).

		Exchange Meanings		
		Utilitarian	Symbolic	Mixed
Exchange Types	Restricted	Restricted Utilitarian	Restricted Symbolic	Restricted Mixed
	Generalized	Generalized Utilitarian	Generalized Symbolic	Generalized Mixed
	Complex	Complex Utilitarian	Complex Symbolic	Complex Mixed

Figure 2. *A Conceptual Exchange Framework*

Further, Bagozzi distinguishes three types of exchange. Similar to Kotler's position, he identifies a restricted type of exchange as a voluntary exchange between any two parties, A and B. Parties A and B could be consumers, retailers, salesmen, organizations, park and recreation agencies or collectives. Diagrammatically this type of exchange is represented as A ⇔ B, where "⇔" signifies "gives to and receives from." (Bagozzi, 1975, p. 32). Often this type of exchange is referred to as direct, dyadic, or economic exchange. Restricted exchange is characterized by the notion of quid-pro-quo, free price-making mechanism, and self-interest motivation. Examples of this exchange included customer-salesman or wholesaler-retailer relationships. In the marketing literature fundamental rules of this exchange were discussed by Alderson (1965).

Generalized type of exchange involves univocal reciprocal relationships among at least three actors. The actors do not benefit each other directly, only indirectly. Diagrammatically this type of exchange among three actors A, B, and C is represented as A⇨B

⇨C ⇨A, where "⇨" signifies "gives to." (Bagozzi 1975, p. 33). This type of exchange sometimes is referred to as indirect or multiparty exchange. Bagozzi gives an example of a generalized exchange transaction between a local department store A, a public bus company B, and riders C. A local department store (A) donates a number of benches to bus company (B); the bus company (B) places the benches at bus stops for the convenience of its riders (C); riders (C) are exposed to store's (A) advertisement placed on the benches and patronize the store (A).

Bagozzi also combined these two types of exchange and introduced a third type of marketing exchange which he titled "complex." Complex exchange is a "system of mutual relationships between at least three parties [where] each social actor is involved in at least one direct exchange, while the entire system is organized by an interconnecting web of relationships" (Bagozzi, 1975, p. 33). Bagozzi distinguishes between two subtypes of complex exchange: *complex chain exchange* which has open-ended sequences of direct exchanges A ⇔ B ⇔C; and *complex circular exchange* with closed-ended sequences of direct exchanges A ⇔ B ⇔ C ⇔ A.

Bagozzi provided examples of complex exchange subtypes. Complex chain exchange could be a typical channel of distribution where a manufacturer (A), a retailer (B), and a consumer (C) depict the distribution channel A ⇔ B ⇔ C. Complex circular exchange can be an exchange between a person A, a television B, an advertising agency C, and a book publisher (D). Bagozzi (1975) saw the essence of public sector marketing as being in the complex type of exchange where government, disadvantaged citizens, public administrators, and the rest of society are all involved in a complex sequence of restricted and generalized exchanges with mixed symbolic and economic resources (Figure 3).

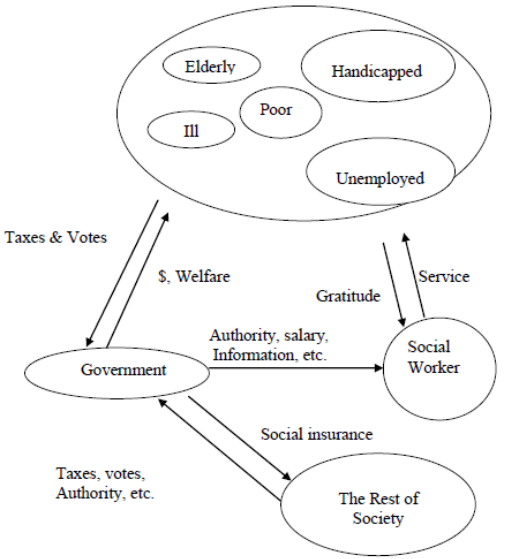

Figure 3. *Social Marketing and Exchange*
Note: Adapted From: Bagozzi (1975).

Results of Negative Case Analysis

Negative case analysis found that alternative assumptions (negative cases) were available to those who introduced the public sector marketing concept. A search for negative cases and rival hypothesis revealed that those available were : (1) open-system and closed-system perspectives on formal organizations that could be operationalized using microeconomic or political system paradigms; (2) individualistic and collectivistic versions of social exchange theory; and (3) "formalist" and "substantivist" perspectives in economic anthropology with distinct views on the history of marketing exchange and types of economic analysis. Concepts that have been adopted by the social exchange school and concepts that have been overlooked or ignored are summarized in Table 3. The following subsections discuss the overlooked concepts in more detail.

A Closed-System Model of Formal Organizations

A search for rival hypotheses in the organizational theory literature suggests that formal organizations can be conceptualized not only from an open-system model perspective but also from a closed-system model perspective. Hall (1972, p. 49) summarized major differences between these two approaches:

> The closed-system model views organizations as instruments designed for the pursuit of clearly specified goals, and thus directing organizational arrangements and decisions toward goal achievement and toward making the organization more and more rational in the pursuit of its goal. The open-system model views organizations as not only concerned with goals, but also responding to external and internal pressures. In some cases the open perspective virtually ignores the issue of goals.

Table 3. *Results of Negative Case Analysis*

Social Science Discipline	*Concepts Borrowed to Develop Public Sector Marketing*	*Ignored Concepts*
Organizational Behavior	Open-System Model of Formal Organizations	Closed-System Model of Formal Organizations
Sociology	Individualistic Social Exchange Theory	Collectivistic Social Exchange Theory
Economic Anthropology	"Formalist" History of Marketing Exchange	"Substantivist" History of Marketing Exchange

The closed-system conceptualization of organizations is an older perspective which stems from Weber's classical analysis of bureaucracy. Weber (1946, p. 151) defined an organization as "a system of continuous purposive activity of a specified kind." This perspective suggests that an organization has a clear and explicit goal which determines its internal structure and the tasks undertaken to achieve this goal (Figure 4). Tasks are divided among members of the organization so that each member has responsibility for an area of activity that matches his/her competence.

Decision-making in a closed-system organization is based on an established normative order and is manifested by clearly specified rules and a chain of command. Selection of members is based on an individual's skills and technical competence. The person's membership with the organization is documented in the form of a written contract that delineates the individual's duties and level of remuneration (Weber, 1946).

The open-ended, or "natural-system" perspective on organizations emanates from a critique of the closed-ended system (Katz & Kahn, 1966, p. 26) and is based on the conventional microeconomic paradigm. This perspective puts lesser emphasis on an organization's concern with goals and greater emphasis on its responsiveness to external pressures:

The major misconception [of the closed-system model] is the failure to recognize fully that the organization is continually dependent upon inputs from the environment and that the inflow of materials and human energy is not constant.

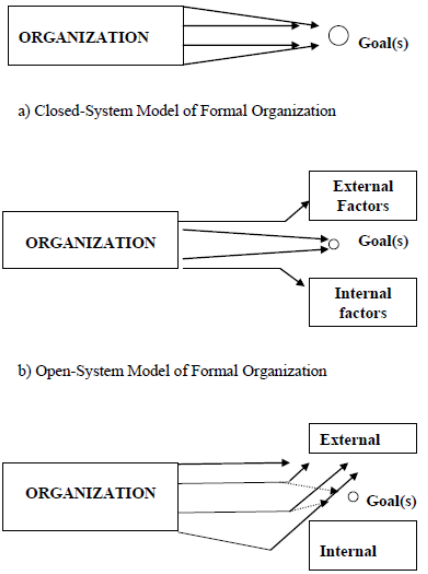

Figure 4. *Alternative Conceptualization of Formal Organizations*

This perspective is based on assumption of scarce energy and resources. The main goal of the organization is perceived to be survival in a competitive surrounding environment that consists of other organizations which compete for the same resources. A need to survive, forces the organization to adapt to both controllable internal and non-controllable external forces. Therefore, it is conceptualized as a "natural system" which imports energy in the form of people and materials (input) from its external environment, alters it in some way (the throughput), and distributes it back to the environment (output). Survival dictates a "broadening of organizational goals" because the organization is dependent on what is imported to it, how it transforms inputs, and how the environment accepts the organization's output (Figure 4).

Finally, there has been an attempt in the organizational literature to develop a balanced model of formal organizations that encompasses elements of the both the open-system and closed-system perspectives. The major assumption of this perspective is that organizations have multiple conflicting goals and thus have to make strategic choices in response to internal and external threats. This perspective tries to control three major factors: individuals within an organization; the environment of the organization; and

form of the organization. Individuals within the organization are seen as the mechanism through which environmental and organizational characteristics are shaped. The environment is considered as being unstable and varying from predictable to non-predictable. By choosing the best strategic choice-response to a changed environment, the organization attempts to fit itself to the changed environment and accordingly changes its form (Figure 4). That is why contingency and choice are major elements of this perspective (Hall, 1972).

The negative case analysis suggests that the open-system definition of an organization, in contrast to the closed-system definition, invites an organization-environment approach, which implies that an organization is engaged in exchange relationships with the competitive environment. (Yuchtman & Seashore, 1967). In such an approach, differences between the goals of formal organizations become less apparent since all types of organizations are concerned with the issue of survival through efficiently attracting and distributing scarce and valued resources, and ensuring there is a difference between accrued revenues and expenditures. An open-system model interpretation of the four types of formal organizations classified by Blau & Scott (1962) suggests the generic nature of operational goals (Katz & Kahn, 1966), management functions (Kotler & Murray, 1975), and marketing applications (Kotler & Levy, 1969a) for both public and private types of organizations.

The alternative Weberian closed-system definition of organizations emphasizes the critical role of clearly specified organizational goals that will result in different, not generic, operational tasks; management functions; and internal and external arrangements of organizations. From the Weberian perspective it is important to distinguish between profit organizations concerning with goal of survival and budget organizations concerning with bureaucratic goals. For example, a goal to maximize profit institutionalizes the existence of business organizations that are concerned with profit management. In the internal arrangements, subparts or units are accountable for the success or failure to attain this goal as well the whole organization. Therefore, management and accountability are decentralized, and responsibility is divided among the organization's parts without jeopardizing the unity of the total operation's achievement of the profit goal. Subordinates are empowered and have discretion to amend rules or regulations in order to keep their operations profitable (Von Mises, 1944). In the external arrangements, the profit goal directs decision-making

relating to selection of the most profitable market segments for an organization.

However, similar to the Weberian separation of profit and bureaucratic organizations Von Mises (1944. p. v) notes that: "There are areas of man's activities in which there cannot be any questions of profit management and where bureaucratic management must prevail." Bureaucratic management is bound by law and budget and concerned with those areas where profit management cannot operate. Bureaucratic management means management in strict accordance with the law and budget, so bureaucratic organizations do what the law and the budget order them to do. Accordingly, as Von Mises notes (1944, p. 45): "bureaucratic management is bound to comply with detailed rules and regulations fixed by the authority of a superior body. The task of a bureaucrat is to perform what these rules and regulations order him to do. His discretion to act according to his own best conviction is seriously restricted by them." Bureaucratic management requires very rigid internal and external arrangements. Internally, it implies detailed discretion based on bureaucratic procedures and codes of ethics such as, for example, the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) Code of Ethics (Van Wart, 1996). Externally, the law and budget requires bureaucratic managers to serve members of the community equally, and without showing preference to one client over another.

The open-system model assumption about formal organizations fits well with the activities of business agencies and profit management. Business concerns are encouraged to compete for scarce financial resources with other business concerns in a competitive environment that is boosted by this economic development. However, the social exchange school by ignoring the closed-system model of formal organizations, fails to acknowledge the difference between profit oriented and bureaucratic oriented management. Profit and bureaucratic organizations are situated in different economic and political environments. Public agencies often enjoy the status of monopolists with no need to compete and with relatively stable funding in the form of tax-support from the public-at-large who own these organizations. Von Mises (1944, p. 47) noted: "In public administration there is no connection between revenue and expenditure. The public services are spending money only; the insignificant income derived from special sources is more or less accidental." The main general goal common to most public agencies is effective implementation of the tasks established by the public at large, on the basis of rigid compliance with detailed rules and regulations established by the authority or superior body that

politically represents the public at large. However, the open-system interpretation of public agencies distorts the pursuit of such a goal and inevitably arouses conflict between the requirement to comply with detailed regulations and the need to generate revenue.

Negative case analysis suggests that the term "bureaucracy" does not necessarily have negative connotations, and the term "overbureaucratized" when used to characterize an organization does not necessarily imply an unresponsive organization as was suggested by the social exchange school (Kotler, 1975a). Blau & Scott (1962, p. 45) in an introduction to their classification of formal organizations cautioned about this fallacy:

> Note also that the criticism that an organization is "overbureaucratized" means quite different things in the four types of organizations. In the case of mutual-benefit associations, such as unions, overbureaucratization implies centralization of power in the hands of officials. Here it does not refer to inefficiency; indeed, bureaucratized unions are often ruthlessly efficient. But in the case of business concerns overbureaucratizion implies an elaboration of rules and procedures that impairs operation efficiency, and here the term is not used in reference to the power of management officials to decide on policies, since such managerial direction is expected and legitimate.

In other words, if business concerns are bureaucratized it means that they are unresponsive and there is an authentic need to move towards a de-bureaucratization process and higher responsiveness through application of the marketing concept, as the social exchange school suggests. However, if commonweal organizations are bureaucratized it does not necessarily mean that they are unresponsive and that there is an urgent need to implement the marketing concept. On the contrary, Blau & Scott (1962, p. 55) argue that "the maintenance of efficient bureaucratic mechanisms that effectively implement the objectives of the community" is the major task of commonweal organizations. According to Blau & Scott (1962) the de-bureaucratization of commonweal organizations (or Kotler's suggestion to apply the marketing concept to make them more responsive) may lead to commonweal organizations jeopardizing their ability to effectively implement community objectives.

For example, a state park, which is supported mainly through state funding may find through research that local visitors contribute substantially more to the park's budget than non-locals because they visit it more often and, therefore, pay more in user fees. From a marketing concept perspective, it would be beneficial for the park's management to focus their advertising and selling

efforts exclusively on local residents and ignore non-local segments of visitors. This is the procedure likely to be pursued in a commercial organization. However, the park is supported by state funds which suggests that by focusing exclusively on local residents and ignoring non-locals, the park violates its constitutional responsibility to serve and benefit all its owners who are the public at large consisting of the both local and non-local residents. Thus, the open-system perspective of formal organizations has limited usefulness for conceptualizing public park and recreation agencies because it fails to recognize the crucial difference between profit and bureaucratic management.

Public Interest and "Coercion Mutually Agreed Upon"

Negative case analysis revealed the existence of alternative conceptualizations of motivation. The limitation of self-interest motivation in the context of commonly held resources (commons) was formulated by Hardin (1968) in his essay "*The Tragedy of Commons*." Hardin (1968) illustrated the tragedy of the commons by using the example with of a pasture fixed in size, that is accessible to all the residents of a village. Motivated by self-interest all the villagers sought to maximize their own use of the pasture by grazing as many cattle as possible and expanding the size of their own herds. Since each villager followed the same logic the tragedy occurs. Receiving personal benefits, villagers fail to recognize that the costs of the increased grazing will be shared by all villagers. In other words, they fail to recognize that in the long run the cumulative effect of their short run independent pursuit of self-interest will harm their collective interest. Without adequate and timely collective measures the pasture will be destroyed.

The example demonstrated that increasing demand on limited resources and a philosophy of unlimited access to commonly held resources eventually may lead to mutual destruction and harm. Hardin (1968) argued that education efforts to prevent the tragedy of commons are not enough since there can be free riders who will take advantage of others' voluntary self-restrained actions. The solution suggested by Hardin to this type of problem is "mutually agreed upon coercion," a coercion agreed upon by a majority of the people affected through democratic voting procedures. Mutually agreed upon coercion may takes the form of a law, rule, regulation, fine, or a graduated tax. Such an approach, however, requires people and agencies that will be responsible for enforcement of these procedures: that is, bureaus and bureaucrats.

The limits of self-interest motivation in different non-economic contexts have been articulated conceptually and supported empirically in the social science literature. For example, the sociological literature introduced game The Prisoners Dilemma when two captured suspects are confronted with several alternatives for confession/non-confession and different types of punishments. A usual result of this game suggests that both suspects could receive minimum punishment if they co-operate with each other. However, each of them by following personal self-interest to minimize personal punishment inevitably harms each others' personal self-interest.

Nevertheless, Hardin's position was debated by libertarians who associate the word "coercion" with the word "anathema" and by representatives of the public choice solution in the public administration literature. Representatives of this school questioned if "the mutually agreed upon coercion" is really democratic and voluntarily agreed upon by a majority of citizens. Representatives of the public choice solution coined the term "free rider," arguing that there would be members of a community who would prefer to use common resources while others were paying for them. Public choice school advocates of the "user pays system" and "vouchers" seek to increase the discretion of individuals by compelling them to "vote with their feet" for levels of taxation and a need for certain government services.

The social science literature seems to give a balanced consideration of the self-interest and the coercion perspectives. The self-interest motivation was recognized in sociology, anthropology, and social psychology (Belshaw, 1965; Frazer, 1919; Homans, 1969; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). The "coercion mutually agreed upon" perspective was also recognized by many as a legitimate principle for doing things appropriate for a democratic country. Writers, whose studies were cited by the social exchange school, characterized it either as a "visible hand," "quid pro without quo," "pure gift," "one-way transfer," "grant economy," "bureaucratic management" or simply "government" and "public administration." For example, the philosopher Berdyaev (1948, p. 185) distinguished two motivational principles in regard to economic life: "One of them says: In economic life follow up your own personal interest and this will promote the economic development of the whole, it will be good for the community, for the nation, for the state… The other principle says: In economic life serve others, serve the whole community and then you will receive everything which you need for your life." Similarly, the economist Von Mises (1944) referred to the same distinction as

"two contrary methods of doing things" in a democratic society: "the private citizens' way and the way in which the offices of the government and the municipalities are operated." Von Mises termed them, "profit management" and "bureaucratic management." Another economist Boulding (1970), adapting from the philosopher Sorokin (1964) the distinction between compulsory and familistic types of social relationships, discussed the malevolence and benevolence types of motivation that underlie the threat and love integrative forces. The anthropologist Sahlins (1965) distinguished between altruistically motivated transaction and subordination to central authority, as did Polanyi (1944) and Dalton (1971) who differentiated between politically or socially defined obligations and self-interest motivation. Finally, one of the definitions of government articulated by Abraham Lincoln recognized the limits of invisible hand and a need for bureaucratic management: "a legitimate object of government, … to do for a community of people, whatever they need to have done, but cannot do, at all, or cannot, so well do, for themselves—in their separate, and individual capacities" (cited in Shafritz & Russell, 1997).

Negative case analysis suggests that self-interest motivation fits well with the activities of business organizations or profit management. However, negative case analysis also suggests that there is a contradiction in the social exchange school's conceptualization of public sector marketing between self-interest motivation and the code of ethic practiced by public administrators. Contrary to the social exchange school interpretations, Blau & Scott (1962) argued that self-interest plays a limited role in the governance of nonbusiness formal organizations such as mutual-benefit associations, service organizations, and commonweal organizations. They contended that in the case, for example, of a mutual benefit association such as a labor union, self-interest condemns the organization: "If union leaders usurp the role of prime beneficiary and run the union as if they owned it for their personal benefit, the organization is condemned for no longer serving the proper functions of a labor union" (p. 44).

Service organizations are in a similar case. In service organizations, such as social work agencies, hospitals, some park and recreation agencies, schools and universities, the welfare of clients, participants, patients, and students is presumed to be the chief concern. This concern usually is cemented in codes of ethics adopted by professions as, for example, oaths, rules, or codes of ethic in the medical, military, law enforcement, and jurisprudence professions. These regulations are based on an assumption that while customers are able to look after their own self-interest in a

store, the same customers often do not know what will best serve their own interest in relationships with professional service organizations.

For example, patients in a hospital may or may not want surgery intervention in their bodies. However, it is a doctor or medical professional who determines and decides for patients what is in their best interest and what is the best treatment for a particular health problem on the basis of professional and ethical considerations. Similarly, clients who pay lawyers for legal advice may guess what is good in their case, but it is the lawyers who decide what is in the client's best legal interest on the basis of professional and ethical standards, and not considerations of personal gain at the expense of the client. Lawyers who personally gain at the expense of client interests are usually condemned by the bar association and deprived of their practice. Finally, in the example of a university used by Kotler (1975a), Blau & Scott (1962, pp. 52-53) argue that "students are best served when professional educators determine what and how they are to be taught" and not when students themselves decide what and how they need to study. Blau & Scott (1962, p. 51) identified clear differences between the motivations of business and public decision-makers:

> … while the businessman's decisions are expected to be governed by his self-interest--as epitomized in the phrase "caveat emptor"--the professional's decisions are expected to be governed not by his own self-interest but by his judgement of what will serve the client's interest best. The professions are institutionalized to assure, in the ideal case, that the practitioner's self-interest suffers if he seeks to promote it at the expense of optimum service to clients.

In the case of public park and recreation organizations that can be classified as commonweal types of organizations, the problem of self-interest is more trivial. These organizations are owned by the public-at-large and established by the community to serve their interests. This interest is commonly referred to as the public interest. In the Code of Ethics developed by the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) (Van Wart, 1996) employees of public sector organizations are seen to "serve the public interest beyond serving oneself." The ASPA's guidelines are consistent with Blau's (1964) contention that public servants must "abstain from exchange relationships" with clients and serve the public interest in "detached manner" with personal "disinterest."

The presence of self-interest in the relation of clients with commonweal organizations inevitably leads to ethical and even legal conflicts. For example, Locke & Woicenshyn (1995) argue

that the cynical egoism code that is commonly taught in business schools as the subjective expected utility (SEU) model is inappropriate for the character of social service because it advocates dishonesty "... if one feels like it, if it helps gratify one's immediate desires, and if the cost (likelihood of getting caught) is low" (p. 406). In the like vein, Blau & Scott (1962, p. 44-45) note:

> Commonweal organizations, in sharp contrast, are not expected to be oriented to the interests of their "clients," that is, those persons with whom they are in direct contact. A police department, for example, that enters into collusion with racketeers fails to discharge its responsibility to the public-at-large and is no longer the protective organization it is assumed to be. Likewise, if policemen solicit bribes instead of enforcing the law, or the police commissioner runs the department to further his political ambitions, the public's position as prime beneficiary of the organization suffers.

Similarly, tax-supported park and recreation agencies that admit and serve only certain segments of a community and exclude or ignore others, fail to discharge their obligations to the community and are no longer the public park and recreation organizations they are assumed to be.

Many writers in the park and recreation literature seem to agree that the limited recreational resources is being subjected to unlimited recreational demands and this requires a "mutually agreed upon coercion" solution. For example, Crantz (1982, pp. 207) noted that: "the public park movement has been an experiment in collective reform and expenditure. Individual experience in the parks has ultimately been a means to collective ends… Social consciousness, the opposite of selfishness, was essential to good citizenship and successful democracy." Leopold (1953) advocated wildlife preservation through self-restrained ethics which treat recreational resources as a part of a community and commonly held recreational resources as vulnerable to the tragedy of commons. Finally, Dustin *et al.,* (1995) transposed Hardin's philosophy of the tragedy of the commons into the tragedy of the recreation commons. They postulate their worth ethic as an ideological foundation of public recreation service delivery. The worth ethic includes respect for a birthright; freedom to grow; and opportunities for choice. These views suggest that self-interest motivation might have limited usefulness and even contradictory to the philosophy of delivery public recreation services and hence, to the conceptualization of public recreation marketing. Thus, application of self-interest motivation in the context of public organizations, including public parks and

recreation agencies, as was suggested by the social exchange school of marketing is contradictory.

Redistribution and Reciprocity Arrangements

Negative case analysis suggests that arrangement of formal organizations with environments can be explained not only from an exchange perspective, as suggested by the social exchange school, but also from the redistribution or reciprocity perspectives. The concept of redistribution, as well as the concept of reciprocity, was developed by those adapting a substantivist perspective in economic anthropology (Dalton, 1971; Polanyi, *et al.,* 1957; Polanyi, 1944; Sahlins, 1965). This perspective attempts to analyze economic life in primitive and modern societies from three different approaches: reciprocal arrangements based on the symmetry principle; redistributive arrangements based on the centricity principle; and marketing exchange arrangements based on price-making markets.

Reciprocity implies a symmetrical sequence (AB/ BA) among just two partners or (AB/BC/CA/AC) among more than two fixed partners. Redistribution is centripetal movement of resources among many actors within a group upon one central figure followed by the action of that central figure upon the actors within the group in unison and repartition (BA/CA/DA/ and then A/BCD). Finally, marketing exchange is chaotic movements (A/BCD, B/ACD, and C/ABD) (Polanyi, et al., 1957, pp. vii-viii). This "sunbstantivist" perspective is different from the "formalist" perspective which recognizes only marketing exchange arrangements (Belshaw, 1965).

Substantivists theorize that redistribution is payment to, and disbursement by, a central political authority. It implies a hierarchically structured group and that there is a center of the group. The primary mechanism of redistribution is sharing. Members of a group pool their resources at a center, and this pooled or common resource is then shared among the group members according to commonly accepted distributive rule. The tax systems of industrial countries or payments to the chief in primitive societies are typical examples of redistributive arrangements. Sahlins (1965, p. 141) referred to redistribution as "pooling." Pooling is "centralized movements: collection from members of a group, often under one hand, and redivision within this group… This is "pooling" or "redistribution" … pooling is socially a within relation, the collective action of a group." The most important principles that characterize redistribution arrangements are centricity and the group membership rules.

Sahlins (1965;1972) contrasted redistribution as a "within relation" with reciprocity as a "between relation" (Figure 5). Reciprocity is obligatory gift-giving among kin and friends. Sahlins (1965) maintained that on a very general view "pooling" and "reciprocity" can merge. However, he believed that the course of analytic wisdom is to separate the array of economic transactions in the ethnographic record into two types because their social organization is very different. Sahlins (1965) noted that there is a popular tendency to consider between relations (reciprocity) as a balanced unconditional one-for-one exchange. However, referring to abundant ethnographic records, he recognized that reciprocity is rather a "a whole class of exchanges, a continuum of forms." This continuum ranges from "the assistance freely given" or "pure gift" at one end of the spectrum and "self-interested seizure" or "appropriation by chicanery or force" at the other pole. Accordingly, Sahlins classified diverse forms of reciprocities as ranging from the "generalized reciprocity, the solidarity extreme," through the "balanced reciprocity, the midpoint;" to the "negative reciprocity, the unsociable extreme."

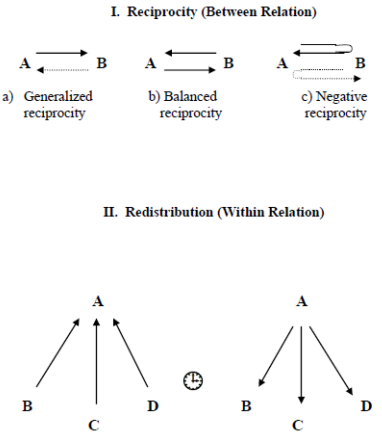

Figure 5. *A Difference Between Reciprocity and Redistribution*

By generalized reciprocity, Sahlins understood "transactions that are putatively altruistic, transactions on the line of assistance given and, if possible and necessary, assistance returned." Ethnographic examples of such relationships include "sharing," "help," "free gift," and "generosity." By balanced reciprocity he understood "the simultaneous exchange of the same types of goods to the same amount." Balanced reciprocity is more economic and less personal and ethnographic examples include "trade" and "buying-selling" that involve "primitive money." Finally, negative

reciprocity is “the attempt to get something for nothing with impunity, the several forms of appropriation, transactions opened and conducted toward net utilitarian advantage.” Ethnographic examples include such relationships as “haggling,” “barter,” “gambling,” “chicanery,” and “theft.”

Sahlins (1965) suggested that in most societies “generalized reciprocity” is the norm within family relationships and “negative reciprocity” predominates in economic relationships outside the family in modern industrial societies. To explain other economic activities in society, such as payment of taxes and public services, Sahlins argued that a different analytical category and analysis was needed.

While Sahlins (1965) believed that it was wise to separate the array of economic transactions in the ethnographic record into two types (reciprocity and redistribution) because their social organizations are very different, Ekeh (1974), whose study was adopted by the social exchange school, used a different approach. Referring to Levi-Strauss’s (1969) studies of kinship, Ekeh (1974) distinguished between direct reciprocity and generalized reciprocity.

Direct reciprocity characterizes relationships where actor A expects to be benefited directly by actor B, whenever A benefits B. Ekeh refers to this type of reciprocity as *restricted exchange* and notes that restricted exchange can take two major forms. Given only two parties, A and B, restricted exchange has the form A ⇔ B, and this is referred to as *exclusive restricted exchange*. Given several parties, for example, three individuals A, B, and C, restricted exchange has the form A ⇔ B ⇔ C and this is referred to as *inclusive restricted exchange*. Both types of restricted exchange based on direct reciprocity are characterized by the notion of quid-pro-quo, emotional load, attempts to maintain equality, tensions, distrust, frequent conflicts over fairness, instability, mechanical solidarity, and brittle relationships (Ekeh, 1974; Gillmore, 1987; Uehara, 1990; Yamagishi & Cook, 1993). Restricted or dyadic exchange is traditional economical exchange motivated by self-interest motivation and profit considerations. This exchange is characterized by Adam Smith’s quid-pro-quo notion: "whoever offers to another a bargain of any kind, proposes to do this: give me that what I want, and you shall have this which you want" (Smith, 1850, p. 7).

Univocal reciprocity characterizes relationships that involve at least three actors and where actors do not benefit each other directly, but only indirectly. Ekeh refers to this type of relationship as generalized exchange that also has two forms. *Chain generalized*

exchange has the form A ⇨ B ⇨ C ⇨A, where, "⇨" signifies "gives to." It is operated by *chain univocal reciprocity* when actors in the system are so positioned that they operate a chain of univocal reciprocations to each other as individual units. *Net generalized exchange* operated by *net univocal reciprocity*. Net univocal reciprocity denotes empirically observed situations where relationships can be individual-focused or group-focused. In individual-focused exchange relationships, the group as a whole benefits each member consecutively until all members have each received the same amount of benefits and attention (ABC ⇨D; ABD ⇨ C; ACD ⇨B; BDC ⇨A). In a group-focused exchanges, individuals give to the group as a unit and then gain back as part of the group from each of the unit members (A ⇨BCD; B ⇨ACD; C ⇨ABD; D ⇨ABC). Generalized exchange produces a high degree of social solidarity among parties, and establishes trust and commitment. Ekeh (1974) believed that generalized exchange and univocal reciprocity generate collective rights and lead to concepts such as “payment of taxes” and "citizenship" (Figure 6). Although Ekeh clearly formulated different assumptions underlying each type of reciprocity, serious limitations of his study were the focus on kinship relationships, and the failure to distinguish between “pooling” and “reciprocity.” Discussing individual and group-focused net-univocal reciprocities, Ekeh (1974) recognized:

> Sahlins… makes a distinction between ‘pooling’ and ‘reciprocity’. What he refers to as pooling seems to be a combination of the two types of net reciprocity that I identify here… Although Sahlins’ conception of pooling appears insightful, it is doubtful that it is separate from reciprocity as conceived in net generalized exchange.

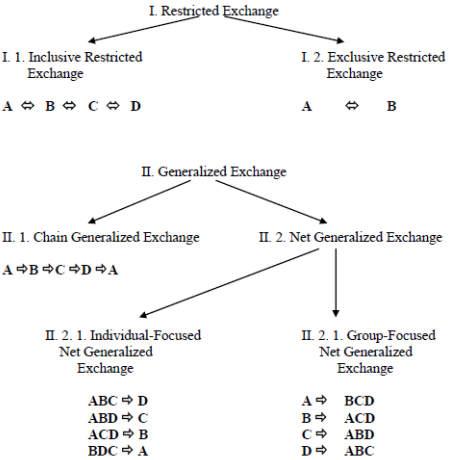

Figure 6. *Ekeh's Typology of Exchange*

Recent studies, however, emphasize crucial differences between reciprocity and redistribution in the context of social policy (e.g. Brody, 1985). Thus, in the context of public policy and the public sector it is important to follow Sahlins' type of analysis and to distinguish between reciprocity and redistribution.

This negative case analysis suggests that interpreting of a formal organization's interaction with its environment as a voluntary exchange of values, fits well with business organizations and the profit management philosophy. This law of exchange has been commonly accepted by business and marketing scholars. However, negative case analysis and a review of original sources (Blau, 1964; Blau & Scott, 1962) used by the social exchange school (Kotler, 1975a; Kotler & Murray, 1975) suggests some contradictions in the interpreting public agencies' interaction with their environment in terms of voluntary exchange. For example, contrary to the assertions of the social exchange school which adopted the Blau & Scott (1962) taxonomy of organizations, Blau (1964) denied that voluntary exchange was applicable to public organizations. The reason for his denial was the inherent conflict between bureaucratic rules of conduct and exchange relationships in these types of organizations. For example, when discussing service organizations, Blau (1964, p. 261) noted:

> Professionals are expected to be governed in their work exclusively by professional standards of performance and conduct and not by considerations of exchange with clients. Although free professionals depend on fees from clients for their livelihood, the professional code of ethics demands

> that they do not let this fact influence their decisions and that these economic transactions do not affect the social interaction in which professional services are rendered to clients. The professional must refrain from engaging in reciprocal social exchange with clients lest his decisions be influenced by the exchange instead of being based only on his best judgement in terms of professional standards.

Discussing commonweal organizations, Blau (1964, p. 263) noted the existence of the same conflict between bureaucratic rules and exchange transactions citing the empirical studies that he and Scott used in their work on classification of formal organizations in 1962:

> The situation of bureaucratic officials who provide services to clients is similar to that of professionals. Officials in a bureaucracy are expected to treat clients in a detached manner in accordance with official rules, and this requires that officials abstain from exchange relationships with clients, because exchange transactions would make them obligated to and dependent for rewards on clients. Even if it is only the gratitude and approval of clients an official wants to earn, his concern with doing so can hardly fail to influence his decisions and lead him to depart from official procedures. If officials become dependent on clients either for rewards they personally seek or for services of clients the organization needs, they must enter into exchange transactions with clients, which means that they cannot strictly follow bureaucratic procedures in their relations with client.

The absence of direct exchange relationships between nonbusiness organizations and their clients based on the *quid pro quo* notion was a principal argument used by Luck (1969; 1974) against acceptance of the broadened marketing proposition and the social marketing concept. Luck (1969, p. 54) noted the existence of exchange relations of public organizations with their clients as a process of "corruptly committing illegal acts," which is consistent with Blau's (1964) position of a "departure from official procedures."

In response to its critics, the social exchange school attempted to use the notion of an indirect quid pro quo and to introduce concepts of indirect, restricted, generalized, and complex exchanges (Kotler & Levy, 1969b; Bagozzi, 1975) (see pp. 91-92 for definitions of these concepts). However, a closer analysis of these concepts revealed that this school still relies heavily on an exchange paradigm which ignores the "absence of exchange relations with clients" requirement as a fundamental condition in the functioning of public agencies. The results of negative case

analysis suggest that consciously or unconsciously the social exchange school of marketing overlooked the main condition for governing the functioning of public organizations suggested by Blau (1964, p. 263):

> An essential element of professional and bureaucratic detachment is the absence of exchange relations with clients. Exchange transactions create obligations that make it impossible to conform undeviatingly to professional or bureaucratic standards.

Thus, the complex exchange concept has limited adequacy for conceptualization and explanation of public agencies' interaction with their environment. It appears, that the concepts of redistribution or reciprocity might be superior conceptual constructs for operationalizing and accounting for such interactions, because they recognize the "absence of exchange relations with clients" requirement to be crucial for bureaucratic management.

The Theoretical Triangulation of Assumptions

The existence of alternative assumptions and the contradictions found in the social exchange school's interpretation of public sector marketing during the negative case analysis permits theoretical triangulation. The results of the theoretical triangulation are summarized in Figure 7. The figure derived by cross-tabulating marketing categories (column) with types of organizations (rows) and graphical examples. It includes the social exchange school's assumptions about organization, motivation, and arrangements, and the alternative assumptions about the same categories that were revealed in the negative case analysis. The types of organizations are categorized under the headings of profit, bureaucratic, and non-profit organizations. This recognizes Von Misses' distinction between profit management and bureaucratic management, or more simply between profit and government organizations. This distinction has been recognized in the public administration literature (Allison, 1992; Rainey, *et al.,* 1976). Non-profit management and nonprofit organizations are added to this dichotomy, as occupying the middle ground between government and private profit organizations. Non-profit organizations are those organizations that according to law are excluded from an obligation to pay taxes on profits provided that the profit is reinvested in their operations (Rados, 1981).

		Types of Organizations		
		Profit Management	*Bureaucratic Management*	*Non-Profit Management*
	Organization	Open-System Model	Closed-System Model	Contingency-Choice System
Marketing Categories	*Motivation*	Public Interest through pursuit of self-interest, based on quid-pro-quo	Public Interest through "coercion mutually agreed upon"	Public Interest through altruism
	Arrangement	Voluntary exchange	Redistribution	Reciprocity
		Examples		

Figure 7: *The Results of Theoretical Triangulation*

Three categories of marketing are recognized in the figure: organization, motivation, and arrangement modes. There is agreement that these major categories constitute minimum areas of interests for the marketing discipline (Kotler, 1975a). Finally, the bottom horizontal row graphically illustrates the alternative assumptions. The triangulation of organization types with marketing categories suggests three possible conceptualizations of public park and recreation marketing: the exchange perspective; the redistribution perspective; and the reciprocity perspective.

The Exchange Conceptualization of Marketing

The first column represents the social exchange school's controversial conceptualization of generic marketing based on the major assumptions about organization, motivation, and arrangement that were discussed earlier in the chapter. It is based on an interpretation of formal organizations as open-systems; motivated by pursuit of self-interest; and using voluntary exchange to interact with the environment.

This perspective attempts to view a public park and recreation agency as being a profit management organization which is the center of a system that responds directly and quickly to an array of different interest groups. It reflects a department that has been delegated wide discretion to interact with, and which responds directly to the needs of, its various external interest groups including central government in its jurisdiction. The department is given broad sideboards, defined by financial boundaries and general goals, but within those sideboards it has substantial

independence to respond quickly to changes in the environment in which it operates.

This perspective encourages decentralized decision-making, because success is perceived to depend on being able to respond quickly and adapt to dynamic external and internal pressures. According to this perspective the organization is not pre-occupied with following pre-established goals. It puts emphasis on efforts to attract additional resources from its external environment beyond those regularly provided by the agency's governing body, to convert these resources into park and recreation programs and services, and to efficiently distribute these services. The organization is viewed as the primary decision-maker.

This perspective emphasizes voluntary exchange rather than coercion or selfless giving to attract, convert, and distribute resources. Voluntary exchange requires two conditions: (1) there are at least two parties who are free to enter into an exchange; and (2) each party has something that might be valued by the other party. This perspective is based on the assumption that the collective need for park and recreation in a community is served best when the managers of a public park and recreation agency, its employees, and its users pursue their own self-interests. From this perspective, a park and recreation agency's interaction with its interest groups diagrammatically can be represented as

A ⇔ B ⇔ C ⇔ A, where "⇔" signifies "gives to and receives from," and where "A" is a city council or the city manager's office, "B" is a park and recreation agency, and "C" is a group of citizens.

The Redistribution Conceptualization of Marketing

The middle column represents a conceptualization of marketing based on a closed-system model of formal organizations; "coercion mutually agreed upon" motivation; and a redistribution arrangement mode. This perspective attempts to view a public park and recreation agency as a bureaucratic organization. The agency is viewed as a substantively constrained subsystem of a larger political system having relatively little freedom for responsive action without approval from a dominant political center that governs the system. A park and recreation department is subject to tight central control enforced by the city manager's office and /or by a city council. Almost all decisions have to "go through channels" and be authorized by the central authorities before actions can be taken. This perspective stresses pursuit of clearly specified goals and procedures, and a pyramidal hierarchy of positions and regulations. They are designed in accordance with the philosophy that says, "If this is the goal, then these are the most

rational procedures for achieving it." The tasks, sphere of activities, and authority to make decisions are clearly delineated, tightly defined and proscribed. They are assigned to members of the agency based on their position in the hierarchical pyramid. All decisions are centralized and employees in the middle and lower echelons of the pyramid have very limited discrete decision-making authority.

This perspective implies that a public park and recreation agency achieves its goals through the notion of redistribution. Redistribution entails obligatory payments of money objects (taxes) by community members to a democratically elected government. The government uses the receipts for its own maintenance, as emergency stock in case of individual or community disaster, and for the provision of needed different community services including parks and recreation. Redistribution payments (taxes) to a government (socially recognized center) are an expression of politically and democratically defined obligations, and redistribution disbursements (public services) by government are determined democratically by political and legislative decisions and voting procedures. This perspective postulates that the collective need for park and recreation in the community is best met when the managers and it employees of a public park and recreation agency serve the public interest rather than their own self-interest. From this perspective, a park and recreation agency's interaction with its interest groups diagrammatically can be represented as: CB ⇨ A 🕘 CB ⇦ A, where: "⇨" signifies "redistributive payments"; "⇦" signifies "redistribution disbursements;" "🕘" signifies "a period of time;" and "A" is a city council or the city manager's office with a subserviant park and recreation agency, and "B" and "C" are groups of citizens.

The Reciprocity Conceptualization of Marketing

The third column is an attempt to view a public park and recreation agency as a non-profit management organization. It is based on the contingency-choice model of formal organization characterized by altruistic motivation and a reciprocal arrangement mode. This type of organization has a flat hierarchy, decentralized decision-making, and makes efforts to attract additional resources from external sources and to quickly respond to interest groups. However, it has clearly specified goals and mission that is tightly defined by law and which cannot be changed. The organization tries to balance two conflicting goals: not to change its clearly

specified mission, and to attract additional resources by responding quickly to interest groups.

The reciprocity perspective believes that the collective need for park and recreation in a community is served best when the managers and employees and interest groups rely on altruism and benevolence attitudes. According to this philosophy, managers and employees, and community members, sacrifice their own self-interests for the collective interests and also offer for generous help and assistance to preserve recreational resources.

Interaction of this type of organization with its environment is based on generalized reciprocity which is characterized by there being at least three parties involved which do not benefit each other directly, only indirectly. From this perspective, a park and recreation agency's interaction with its interest groups diagrammatically can be represented as A ⇨ B ⇨ C ⇨ A, where "⇨" signifies "gives to" and where "A" is a city council or city manger's office, "B" is a park and recreation agency, and "C" is a group of citizens.

Discussion of the Non-Empirical Results

Results of the non-empirical procedures reported in this chapter support critical studies that have been published previously. For example, Dixon (1978), Monieson (1988), and Pandya & Dholakia (1992) offered critical analyses of the social exchange school of marketing. Their major criticism related to the epistemological, ontological, and methodological aspects of the research orientation employed by representative of the social exchange school of marketing. They noted that although representatives of this school proposed many popular concepts and models in the marketing literature, many of them lacked empirical support. For example, although almost two decades had elapsed since the social marketing concept based on complex exchange was introduced, almost no empirical work on the social marketing concept had been reported in the marketing literature (Hirschman, 1987). Nevertheless, the concept has flourished in academic circles--a phenomenon that Dalton (1971) called the Holy Ghost: everywhere present but often unseen.

Borrowing from Max Weber, Monieson suggested that the prospering of inauthentic marketing concepts proposed by the social exchange school of marketing, resulted from intellectualist rationalization. The notion of intellectualization was introduced by Max Weber in his speech "Science as a Vocation" presented at Munich University in 1918. Intellectualization means "a

continuous rationalization of society's activities and arrangements by employing a systematic cost-benefit type of analysis that abides by the tenets of Western logic" (Monieson, 1988, p. 6). Intellectualization, or "intellectualist rationalization," is a process when "the ultimate and most sublime values have retreated from public life either into the transcendental realm of mystic life or into the brotherliness of direct and personal human relations" (Weber, 1946, p. 155). Weber argued that increasing intellectualization and rationalization are not indicative of increased knowledge usable to humans. Rather, they stimulate religious or academic “prophecy", which creates only "fanatical sects but never a genuine community" (p. 137).

Intellectualization is a methodological approach which rests on “lawlike generalizations” and “unhampered objectivity” (Monieson, 1988). It employs a reductionist methodological approach, by which the diversity of surrounded facts and forces is reduced to the schema of technical logic or mathematical formula. Such a thought process frequently leads to what Monieson (1988) termed, "reductio ad absurdum." Intellectualization produces inauthentic, valueless, and irrelevant knowledge. Monieson (1988) believed the intellectualization of public and nonprofit sector marketing resulted from intellectualization forces in the marketing literature. The non-empirical results reported here support the criticism that the social exchange school of marketing uses reductionist and intellectual methodology For example, Boulding (1969; 1970; 1973), whose works were adopted by the social exchange school, distinguished between the *threat*, *exchange*, and *love* integrative systems. The idea of different integrative forces was borrowed by Boulding (1970) from Sorokin’s (1964) conceptualization of *compulsory*, *contractual*, and *familistic* types of social relationships. These conceptualizations are consistent with the exchange, redistribution, and reciprocity transactional modes found during the negative case analysis. However, the social exchange school used only one transactional mode, the voluntary exchange system, in their discussion of the Boulding studies. The negative case analysis found that Boulding (1970) did not consider the exchange pattern to be a dominant integrative pattern of all organizations with their environments as was claimed by the social exchange school (Kotler, 1975a). Boulding (1970, p. 28) reported the results of an experiment he conducted in which he asked respondents to rank the importance of the threat, exchange, or love social forces for a number of different organizations. The results were mixed:

> For some types of organization, there was substantial agreement. When it came to organizations such as the national state, there was no agreement at all, some seeing it as primarily a threat system, some as an exchange system, some as an integrative system.

Results of the experiment imply that besides the exchange framework there are other explanations and conceptualizations of how formal organizations, especially public agencies, interact with their environment. For example, organizations such as labor unions, police, schools, and the armed forces, Boulding placed under the threat system. Organizations such as corporations, the stock market, and arts groups he placed under the exchange system.

It is fallacious to present Boulding as an advocate of voluntary exchange as being the only plausible option for organizations to deal with their publics (Kotler & Murray, 1975). On the contrary, as a former president of the American Economic Association Boulding was an active proponent of the love pattern of organizational arrangements with the environment. He referred to it as a "grant" or "transfer" economy (Praff, 1976). The difference between an exchange economy and grant economies, according to Boulding (1969, p. 2) is substantial:

> the 'exchange' economy... studies bilateral transfers of exchangeables (A gives something to B, B gives something to A) and the grants, or transfer economy... studies one-way transfers of exchangeables (A gives something to B, B gives nothing in the shape of an exchangeable to A).

Another example of reductionist methodology relates to the substantivist and formalist economic perspectives in economic anthropology. Viewpoints of opponents of the substantivist perspective (Belshaw, 1965) were used by the social exchange school of marketing to justify exchange arrangements in the context of public agencies. However, Belshaw (1976, p. 59), whose works were adopted by the social exchange school, cautioned:

> ...I differ fundamentally from those of my colleagues--including anthropologists--who characterize village, rural, and nomadic universes as essentially repetitive and unchanging, a view strongly endorsed by so-called "substantivists" such as Karl Polanyi, George Dalton, and Marshall Sahlins.

A similar approach was used by the social exchange school in their discussion of collectivistic and individualistic social exchange theories. Although Ekeh (1974) did not recognize the substantivist distinction between the “within” and “between” relations, he recognized the difference between individualistic and collectivistic

sociological approaches and distinguished between direct exchange based on individualistic assumptions and generalized exchange formed by collectivistic assumptions. However, the social exchange school ignored collectivistic assumptions underlying the concept of net generalized exchange. Concepts of direct and univocal reciprocities that form two distinct types of restricted and generalized exchanges were meshed together by the social exchange school into a new concept of complex exchange which was presumed to be based on both individualistic and collectivistic assumptions. While occasional exploratory studies in the sociological and economic anthropology literature still attempt to follow this type of analysis (e. g. Makoba, 1993), mainstream sociologists and anthropologists appear to reject it or at least to recognize different approaches (Brody, 1985; Coleman, 1987; Cook 1987; Gillmore, 1987; Knottnerus, 1994; La Valle, 1994; Yamagishi & Cook, 1993; Uehara, 1990). The substantivist distinction between the concepts of "pooling" and "redistribution" was also neglected. However, recent studies in the marketing literature recognize this distinction (e.g. Pandya & Dholakia 1992).

Bagozzi's training in the traditions of Chicago school is a probable explanation for his selective choices. The Chicago school does not recognize either substantivist anthropology or collectivistic sociology. Rather, it defends and promotes formalist anthropology and individualistic sociology. Although most marketers are relatively satisfied with the current controversial microeconomic model of public sector marketing based on formalist anthropology and individualistic sociology (Nickels, 1974), a growing number of marketing scholars have suggested that a different analysis be adopted and that substantive concepts be used in the context of the public sector (Dixon, 1978; Ferrel & Zey-Ferrel, 1977; Hirschman, 1987; Monieson, 1988; Pandya & Dholakia, 1992).

Results of the non-empirical procedures in this chapter also directly support critiques of the Chicago school that can be found in the social science literature. Many social scientists have consistently resisted adopting the Chicago school's philosophy because Chicago scholars have relied primary on intellectual and reductionist approaches, which often produce non-testable and near-tautological conceptual models that lack empirical support. Etzioni's (1988) summary of the economic literature related to the philosophy of the Chicago school suggests that representatives of the school rarely engage in testing and sometimes manipulate data to induce a "correct" fit by adding variables and accommodating adjustments. As a result, these neoclassical theorems are "a-

scientific." They are mathematically elegant but remain empirically untested.

Beginning in the 1950s, the Chicago school has been remarkably successful in its consistent efforts to broaden the conceptualization of market arrangements, and to spread a laissez-faire philosophy as it penetrated most aspects of human life and colonized other social disciplines. Rule (1998, p. 31) notes:

> Our case is easiest against the most extreme forms of market ideology--those associated with libertarian politics, for example, or (more academically) the Chicago school of economics. These views do not simply extol the virtues of market arrangements in specific settings: instead, they sanctify the market as the paragon of all social relationships. Thus, relations of parents to children, teachers to students, elected representatives to their constituents--any and all of these are, or ought to be, governed by market principles… So much for collective responsibility.

The Chicago school gave birth to many pro market concepts in different social science disciplines. It can be found for example in individualistic sociology and social psychology (Homans, 1969; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959), the formalist perspective of economic anthropology (Belshaw, 1965), and the public choice school of thought in public administration. Loyal to efforts of Chicago school to colonize other social disciplines, the social exchange school of marketing efficiently enough to collected all the pro market concepts from different social disciplines and re-interpreted many others in order to develop, introduce and justify marketing in the public sector.

Some commentators pointed out the negative consequences associated with the Chicago school's efforts to spread market arrangements into social life and into almost every social discipline. Kuttner (1997, p. iii) noted:

> In scholarly economics, theorists such as Milton Friedman, who had been marginal, became central. The concrete study of economic history and economic institutions became archaic. The smartest rising economists used ever more complex mathematics, based on the premise of a "general equilibrium"—a concept that presumed a smoothly self-correcting market and implicitly urged that markets become purer and that more realms of society become markets. Newly self-confident conservative economic theorists colonized other academic disciplines. Market concepts became widespread in law, political science, and economic history. As experts on public policy, these economists became the intellectual champions of privatization,

> deregulation, and liberation of the global marketplace. It all boiled down to one very simple core precept: market is better.

Etzioni (1988) pointed out that anytime the Chicago school entered another social science discipline, for example, political science or economic history, it always brought with it a set of clearly stated core assumptions which have rarely been empirically tested.

Because of the vague nature of symbolic and intangible costs and benefits, opponents of the Chicago school are skeptical about the reliability of cost-benefit analysis in the context of government regulation policies. According to Smith (1995, p. 445) "cost and benefits are not easily defined; the relationships between direct and indirect costs often are not easily discernible; the estimate of costs is highly sensitive to assumptions." He points out that such a cost-benefit analysis enforced by complex statistical numbers (or lack of them) is a very "politicized" and "manipulable" device.

Many state governments seem reluctant to adopt complete decentralization or deregulation suggestions in the context of parks and recreation. Belshaw (1976, p. 94), who was an advocate of Chicago principles in the context of the provision of public recreation services, recognized that there are no "instances where this approach has in fact been tried" because of the difficulties associated with implementing such an approach: "scale of funding, the enormity of the job to be done, the atmosphere of distrust, the possibilities of corruption, and the quite cynical political manipulation on all sides." For these reasons, many mainstream economists and most public administrators do not accept the Chicago school's postulates in spite of the attractiveness of their libertarian ideas of freedom (Smith, 1995).

Conclusions

The results of the non-empirical procedures undertaken in this chapter contribute to existent critical studies in several important ways. First, they link assumptions underlying the social exchange school of marketing with the assumptions of the Chicago school. Few attempts have been done in previous studies to trace the intellectual roots of the school and to identify this connection. Second, the non-empirical results of this study show that the social exchange school of marketing is loyal to the methodological and epistemological traditions of the Chicago school. The social exchange school employed a reductionist methodology with minimal reliance on empirical testing. As a result of such a methodological approach, the diversity of social concepts that can

be found in the social science literature was reduced to fit the assumptions of the Chicago school. Third, the results of non-empirical procedures demonstrated that the concepts adopted from social science were misinterpreted and biased, and were significantly adapted to fit the assumptions of the Chicago school. Analysis showed that most of these adaptations conflict with, and conceptually contradict, mainstream conceptualizations of public agencies in the organizational behavior and general public administration literatures. Fourth, the results documented the consistent efforts of the social exchange school to spread their confusing conceptualization of public sector marketing into different disciplines and academic publications where they found some support. Finally, the results introduce alternative concepts from the social science literature that have significant potential for explaining the organization, motivation, and internal and external arrangements of public park and recreation agencies with employees and communities. The input from experts reported in Chapter V was undertaken to gain some insights into the acceptance of the alternative concepts by park and recreation administrators and scholars.

Chapter 5.
Input from Experts

This chapter introduces and discusses the input from experts. First, the development of a number of alternative statements and semi-structured questions designed to evaluate these statements is explained. Second, results of interviews with managers and scholars are presented. Finally, findings in terms of their appropriateness for explaining the marketing of park and recreation services are discussed.

Development of the Instrument

The developed instrument is presented in Appendix A. It was derived from Figure 7 and was designed to evaluate the redistribution and exchange conceptualizations of public park and recreation marketing. The instrument consisted of a cover letter, two figures, four pages of text (each containing two short alternative statements and five standard questions about four topics), and the audio tape release form required by the Institutional Review Board for Protection of Human Subjects. Respondents were asked questions about four topics related to the application of marketing management in public park and recreation agencies: (1) the system; (2) the organization; (3) interaction with environment; and (4) motivation of personnel (Appendix A).

Each of the four topics contained two alternative statements under certain titles and were coded as alternative perspectives 1.1 and 1.2; 2.1 and 2.2; 3.1 and 3.2; and 4.1 and 4.2. Thus, the two alternative conceptualizations of public sector marketing were broken down into eight statements. The exchange

conceptualization of public sector marketing statements were coded 1.1 "wide discretion;" 2.2 "flat organization;" 3.1 "voluntary exchange;" and 4.1 "self-interest." These statements were borrowed and adapted from the social exchange school's conceptualization of the public sector marketing summarized in the Chapter IV. Figure A1 was included in the instrument (Appendix A) and was used to represent graphically this conceptualization. It was adapted from Kotler's (1975a) conceptualization of nonprofit marketing.

Alternatively, the statements related to the redistribution conceptualization of marketing were coded 1.2 "narrow discretion;" 2.1 "hierarchical organization;" 3.2; "redistribution;" and 4.2 "public service" (Appendix A). These statements were adapted from Dixon's (1978) discussion of alternative paradigms used to conceptualize public sector marketing; Hall's (1972) discussion of alternative conceptualizations of formal organizations; Dalton's (1971) and Sahlins's (1965) works in the substantivist domain of the economic anthropology; and from Blau & Scott' (1962) discussion of formal organizations. The alternative redistribution conceptualization of public sector marketing was represented by Figure A2 which was adapted from Dalton's (1971) discussion of redistribution arrangements.

Statements did not follow any specific pattern or a preference order except topical criteria. Respondents were not told what statement represents what conceptualization of marketing, although they were informed that the two statements within each topic represent alternatives. Respondents were asked to preview statements and give them some thought before the interview. Then they were asked to select the alternative they believed best depicted how marketing was implemented in public park and recreation agencies with which they were familiar and then to respond to a series of questions that explored the rationale for their selection. There were five standard questions for all four topics, with three of the topics (e.g. I, II, and III) having additional follow-up questions. During the conversations between the researcher and the interviewees, additional non-structured follow up questions were also asked. Each interview lasted from half to one hour and was audio taped.

Results

Results of the expert input suggested that neither the exchange conceptualization (statements 1.2; 2.1; 3.2; and 4.2) nor the redistributive conceptualization (statements 1.1; 2.2; 3.1; and 4.1) of public park and recreation marketing received overwhelming

and explicit support (Appendix B). Results and preferences of alternative statements within the four discussed topics were mixed. Out of the eight interviewed experts, five expressed preference for the wide discretion system (topic I, statement 1.1); three for the hierarchical structure of organization (topic II, statement 2.1); six for the redistribution interaction with environment (topic III, statement 3.2); and four for the public service orientation of personnel (topic IV, statement 4.2). Accordingly, two experts favored the narrow discretion system (topic I, statement 1.2), two preferred the flat organization structure (topic II, statement 2.2); one expert supported voluntary exchange interaction with the environment (topic III, statement 3.1), and two experts believed that motivation of personnel is self-interest (topic IV, statement 4.1). This diversity of responses suggested that each of the discussed eight alternative statements had at least one supportive voice among the eight interviewed experts.

At the same time, some experts were not able to provide clear preference for some alternatives. For example, within the topic II "the organization," three experts believed that both perspectives could be valid. Comments of respondents 1 and 7 are indicative of the respondents' reluctance to indicate a clear preference for alternatives 2.1 "hierarchical organization" and 2.2. "flat organization." The first expert, a park and recreation practitioner, suggested that: "In our case, I would say both perspectives are valid." Similarly, the second expert, a public administration scholar, commented: "Well, here in regard to the organization I would prefer something in between number one and number two… I have a really difficult time saying I prefer one or two… I would prefer to say I like 1.5 something [like] a flatter organization but an organization with some goals." The first expert explained difficulties with choosing one of the two alternatives by differences between the mission and operation levels in the organization: "We have both top down and crossways relationships. At the mission level it is hierarchical, but at the operational level it is flat and decentralized." (Appendix B). Similar attitudes toward alternatives were observed within topic IV "motivation of personnel" where at least two experts were reluctant to give clear preference to one of the two alternatives. For example, respondent 3, a park and recreation manager, pointed out regarding self-interest and public service motivation of personnel: "I think it can be both. There is some balance between self-interest and service orientation" (Appendix B).

The biggest discrepancies in attitudes and preferences for alternatives were occurred with topic III, "interaction with

environments." Six out the eight experts believed that a public parks and recreation agency interacts with the environment based primary on the notion of redistribution. For example, respondent 1 commented regarding redistribution and voluntary exchange arrangements: "Redistribution of course is the primary means by which we finance our parks and that pays for basic operations" (Appendix B). Similarly, respondent 4 noted: "Most funding for public agencies comes from redistribution" (Appendix B). Results suggest that many of the experts commonly believed that redistribution is the dominant mode of operation within public parks and recreation agencies, although some of them observed that there are certain services (e.g. golf) that can be provided based on the exchange notion. However, the same results suggest that by exchange arrangements experts meant mainly user fees and operational expenses, but not capital resources such as public land where golf activities take place. Only one expert believed that interaction of public agencies with the environment is based on voluntary exchange and only one expert felt that both perspectives were valid (Appendix B).

Common attitudes toward the two discussed subtopics, taxes and bureaucracy, were observed. Experts' answers demonstrated that they clearly distinguished between popular negative attitude toward the term bureaucracy as "red tape" and social need for this type of structure. Comments of respondents 3, 6, and 7 are probably well summarized reasons for negative attitude toward the term and the social necessity for the bureaucratic decision-making. For example, respondent 7 concluded: "I would attach a more positive view to it because there are things that we cannot do without administrative organizations of bureaucracy" (topic I, Appendix B).

Similarly, many experts agreed that the process of tax payments is not a voluntary activity but rather an action imposed by government. Although one expert approached the issue from the point of view of voluntary voting (respondent 5), most seemed agree to that taxes are not a voluntary activities (respondents 1, 4, 7, and 8), e.g., "if you let people voluntary decide to pay or not to pay taxes most would probably choose not to pay, but they would still want the free services" (respondent 6) (topic III, Appendix B).

Discussion

When Nickels (1974) surveyed marketing scholars regarding application of marketing in nontraditional marketing areas, the so called marketing broadening proposition, he found overwhelming support. Results of his study were used as an empirical argument in favor of the public sector marketing concept developed by the social exchange school of thought in marketing (Hunt 1976). Unfortunately, Nickels (1974) excluded public administration scholars and practitioners, that is those respondents for whom the new concept was developed, from his sample. Results of interviews with the limited number of managers and scholars included in the current study suggest that if Nickels (1974) would have included in his sample opinions of public administrators and managers, the results and conclusions of his study might have been different. Among experts in the current study, no overwhelming support for the social exchange school conceptualization of marketing was found. Moreover, interviews with these experts lead to the conclusion that public administrators and practitioners agree that the redistribution conceptualization of public sector marketing can be superior to the exchange conceptualization. Most experts preferred the redistribution over the voluntary exchange conceptualization.

Interviews with public administrators and scholars, as contrasted with the marketing scholars, provided further useful information about bureaucratic decision-making. Criticism of bureaucracy as an inefficient and unresponsive machine was a key argument of the social exchange school when introducing the concept of marketing in the public field (Kotler 1975a). However, in this study experts, consistent with classical description of bureaucracy by Max Weber, reported that bureaucrats as public servant are not supposed to be responsive to, or efficiently satisfy, individual needs. Comments of the respondent 1, a public manager, and respondent 6, a public administration scholar and a former city major, provided a good summary of this point:

> People want effective government but we want it to be responsive when we approach government individually and in some case it means violating the common rules. When a person comes to city hall and demands extra garbage pick ups and wants the council to establish a new rule or schedule for pick ups, we cannot deal with his/her specific problem because there are common rules and schedules designed to meet everyone's needs. A person does not understand that bureaucracy tends to be unresponsive to individual needs. It is concerned with administering a commonly established rule that says that we have a specific

> time to pick up that person's garbage during the week. Based on the most efficient way to serve everybody. People want productive and efficient government that runs by the rules, except when it comes to them (respondent 6, topic I, Appendix B).

Input of public administrators also showed that there are concepts that are taken for granted by marketing scholars and, at the same time, not taken for granted by public administrators. For example, in Shapiro's (1973) and Bagozzi's (1975) conceptualization of nonprofit marketing, a concept of self-interest motivation was excluded from discussion because it "was taken for granted." Consistent with the general public administration literature, input from experts in this study suggested that self-interest motivation is not taken for granted in the public administration field. Respondent 6 rhetorically summarized this issue as a question: "Who represents whom…does a congressman represent himself or his public?" (topic IV, Appendix B). Rather, the interview results suggested that "public service" is taken for granted concept by most public administrators and not "self-interest" as suggested by marketing scholars.

Similarly, different attitudes were revealed during the interviews toward issues such as voluntary payment of taxes and independence of public organization. Consistently with non-empirical findings discussed in the previous chapter, experts tended to recognize that taxes are imposed by government actions rather than voluntary exchange activities. This suggests that within the public sector different understanding of arrangements and interactions are possible. Experts consistently agreed with Dixon's (1978) criticism of the social exchange school that public organizations are part of larger system. Although they may have wide discretion to achieve their goals, they are still a part of a larger hierarchical government structure that narrowly defines the ultimate mission for the organization.

In summary, input from experts in addition to non-empirical findings provided further valuable insights into the discussion of the public park and recreation marketing. First, it appears that bureaucracy is not supposed to be responsive and efficient toward individual needs. Rather, it is supposed to be responsive and efficient toward collective needs. Second, a public agency is not an independent entity with an independently defined mission. Rather it is part of larger government structure that narrowly limits areas of an agency's activities and narrowly defines an agency's mission. An agency may have wide operational discretion as long as it is directed toward achievement of a narrowly predetermined mission.

Third, redistribution utilizing a mechanism of taxation rather than voluntary exchange arrangements is the major interaction pattern underlying activities of public agencies. Finally, a public service orientation rather than motivation based on self-interest is the major ethical source for decision-making in the public field.

Chapter 6.
Development of an Alternative Conceptualization

This chapter develops an alternative conceptualization of public park and recreation marketing drawn from the results of both the non-empirical analysis and the input from experts. The discussion focuses on four major assumptions or conceptual blocks which underlie the alternative conceptualization of public parks and recreation marketing. It explains (1) the redistribution system within which local park and recreation resources are allocated; (2) the organizational structure of public park and recreation agencies in local municipal governments; (3) the ways in which public park and recreation agencies interact with local governments and citizens; and (4) the code of ethics and its influence on the behavior of park and recreation professionals. Finally, the chapter attempts to integrate these findings into an alternative definition of public park and recreation marketing which is termed "administered marketing."

The Redistribution System Recreation Resources

According to Crompton and McGregor's (1994) review of Census Bureau data, the aggregate annual investments by federal, state, and municipal levels of government in the U. S. for public park and recreation services amounts to approximately $16 billion. This multibillion annual investment is evidence of the governments' commitment to parks and recreation, although as Von Mises (1944, p. 84) once ironically observed: "The truth is that the government cannot give if it does not take from somebody." For generations, property and sales taxes levied on

citizens have been the primary sources of both operational and capital funds for park and recreation agencies. The annual collection of taxes and the expenditures of some of them on park and recreation services confirms that the park and recreation field is part of the public sector, which also has been referred to as the bureaucratic or redistributive sector (Dalton, 1971).

Dalton (1971, p. 93) noted that in any society "where there is a centralized political authority, there is a redistributive sector." It appears that the reverse relationship is also true. Any redistributive effort requires a centralized and socially recognized political authority that operates on the basis of commonly accepted rules or laws for implementing redistributive actions. Dalton (1971) defines redistribution as the obligatory payment of material items or money to a central political authority which uses the receipts for its own maintenance, to provide community services, and as an emergency reserve in case there is a community disaster. Thus, in the context of parks and recreation, redistribution can be defined as the obligatory payment of property and sales taxes to local and state governments, and income taxes to state and federal governments, which reallocate portions of what they receive to provide recreational services for the community. This definition is consistent with the premises advocated by Galbright (1956) and Hardin (1968), who believed that government is the people and it is the people who democratically accept and mutually agree upon the use of coercion to collect taxes and use them for recreational services. In contrast, critics of the redistributive function of government such as Rand (1966), argue that the redistributive actions of government are a "theft" based on coercive laws.

Redistribution is one of the several ways in which recreational needs can be satisfied. They can also be satisfied through private household arrangements, free market exchange, and reciprocity relationship mechanisms. Commercial theme parks such as Disney World, donations from charitable organizations for recreational services which played a major role in launching the public recreation movement at the beginning of the twentieth century, and weekend games in one's own home backyard, are simple examples of market exchange, reciprocity and households arrangements respectively. The prominent role of the redistribution system stems from a premise that recreation and parks is a public good. For example, a declaration developed by the North American leaders of the recreation movement stated that "increased leisure is a public good, one of the benefits of progress, and a measure of our nations' wealth and well-being." According to the declaration, "more leisure time and better distribution of work and income can assist

in solving economic and social problems." These premises commit recreation leaders to strategies for action which ensure that "recreation opportunities are available for all North Americans." (North American Declaration, 1995).

The lack of accessibility of some segments to market provided recreation services, the lack of backyards for some Americans, and the selective and non-permanent peripatetic nature of donations and gifts, make redistribution the preferred organizational and control system for providing recreational resources and ensuring access to most community members. For example, Dustin, *et al.,* (1995), extrapolating from Hardin (1968), suggest that sole reliance on market forces would eventually affect recreation services in a negative way. Similarly, Brody (1985) points out the impulsive nature of reciprocal grant and gift giving.

In contrast to the market exchange and reciprocity socio-economic arrangements that function as *between* relations between two or more parties, a redistribution system reflects a *within* and collective action of a group (Sahlins, 1965). It constitute a hierarchically structured group,with a commonly recognized leadership and a clearly defined membership, which pools resources, and has agreed distributive rules. The size of the group can vary. It can be a family, group of friends, local community, interest group, or state. Irrespective of the size of the group, the redistribution system stipulates the unity and centralized organization of the group.

The commonly recognized center or leadership refers to the city council or other elected legislative body, and/or the city manager or other form of government chief executive officer. As well as preferring the right to vote for political and administrative leadership, membership of the group is defined by rules. These rules can be family or kinship ties; citizenship with a state; or residency with a community. Thus, foreign tourists may stay for a long period of time in a particular community, but they are denied the right to vote by the community members. Accordingly, they are not required to pay property taxes, although they still may pay sales tax.

The pooling of resources refers to the payment of taxes in accordance with prevailing laws. For example, in one Texas city, the city tax rate is established at $0.4427 per $100 of assessed property value, so a $100,000 home generates $442.70 in annual city taxes. This comes to $36.89 a month for city taxes.

Finally, the distributive rule refers to the community's definition of redistributive justice and the criterion of equity adopted. In the context of park and recreation services, Crompton

& Lamb (1986b) identified five types of equity criteria. From most to least redistribution effect they are: equal result; equal opportunity; equal input; demand; and market equity. Goodale (1985) noted that across local governments in the U.S., there is wide variations in the with accepted criterion of equity and there is no unified approach for perception of redistribution justice.

At all levels of government, the general form of the redistribution system is the same: (1) taxes or resources are pooled into a general fund by a dominant political center; (2) the political center takes allocation decisions and subsidizes the provision of park and recreation services. Once resources have been collected into a jurisdiction's general fund, the central authority is confronted with the primary question of redistribution which is: "who gets what, when, and how." "Who" refers to the segments of the large community. Usually they are defined by either demographic characteristics such as age and ethnicity, or by economic factors such as an income. "What" refers to the types of services or goods to be subsidized from the general fund. For example in one Texas city, each city tax dollar paid by city resident is allocated among to ten different services in the following proportions: 24-hour police and fire protection $0.23 and $0.16 respectively; public works $0.13; community library system $0.01; economic development of community services $0.02; advanced information and technology services $0.08; finance $0.06; general government $0.07; development services $0.08; and parks and recreation services $0.16.

"When" refers to the planning process. Among other elements it includes the establishment of goals and deadlines; accepting and approving proposals; the planning of budgets and programs; and the scheduling of an audit process. Finally, "how" refers to the actual processes of service delivery, that is the marketing and management of services. It includes routine decision-making; personnel issues; efficiency and effectiveness considerations; user fee structures; and the like.

The Public Park and Recreation Organization

In contrast to profit oriented recreation organizations which tend to be open-ended systems with wide discretion, public park and recreation agencies tend to be closed-ended systems with a relatively narrowly defined mission. Both private and public recreation agencies render useful services to the community. However, evidence of the usefulness of these services for the community is determined differently. In the case of private profit-seeking organizations, usefulness of their services is determined by

citizens' willingness to pay the price asked for them. If they are willing to pay, then production of such services grows until saturation of the market is reached, at which point the factors of production will shift toward other services that are in greater demand. The profit motive and price structure of the market serve as a sensitive compass to organizations indicating the right amount of services to produce, and the right services in which to invest money. Under these circumstances management of profit seeking organizations tends to be flexible, discrete, and de-centralized because anything that may slow down the organization's ability to adapt to changing customer preferences may be fatal to the continued viability of the organization. It is not management that lays off employees and dissolves profit-seeking organizations, it is the disapproval of the organization's customers which results in an excess of costs over revenues that leads to such actions.

In the case of public park and recreation agencies, the mechanics of viability are quite different. An agency is not primarily concerned with citizens' willingness to pay or with an excess of revenues over costs. Public managers are concerned with being responsible stewards of taxpayers' money. They are allocated a fixed amount in the form of a budget. An agency tends to be centralized and closed-ended, and its managers typically are given only relatively narrow discretion because of the overriding concern that the agency be accountable for spending taxpayers resources in accordance with the directions of elected representatives. This requires government agencies to pay careful attention to how public money is expended:

> It must define in a precise way the quality and quantity of the services to be rendered and the commodities to be sold, it must issue detailed instructions concerning the methods to be applied in the purchase of material factors of production and in hiring and rewarding labor. As the account of profit or loss is not to be considered the criterion of the management's success or failure, the only means to make the manager responsible to the boss, the treasury, is to limit his discretion by rules and regulations. If he believes that it is expedient to spend more than these instructions allow, he must make an application for a special allotment of money. In this case the decision rests with his boss, the government, or the municipality… The supreme rule of management is subservience to such rules (Von Mises 1944, pp. 62-63).

The role of government in drafting rules and regulations that govern the behavior of a public agency is crucial. Some public services require very rigid rules. For example, police and fire

protection services require very detailed military-like procedures, while park and recreation services are permitted more flexible and less rigid regulations. In the case of flexible services such as parks and recreation, government is interested in developing rules and regulations that allow agencies to efficiently and effectively deliver community services, ensure accountability, and keep the budget deficit low. Rules and regulations vary across jurisdictions but management is necessarily bureaucratic, that is management is required to abide by a code of instructions. Trends in the past two decades, for instance California's Proposition 13, imply that many jurisdictions want public managers to do more with less, while still operating under strict government controls. It seems that Von Mises' (1944, p. 63) observation on the challenge confronting public managers stated almost fifty years ago remains true: "His main task is not efficiency as such, but efficiency within the limits of subservience to regulations."

Although the rules and regulations governing the provision of park and recreation services vary between municipalities, it is possible to identify some general characteristics of public organizations that operate with relatively wide discretion, but within a relatively narrow defined mission. In such cases, it is important to distinguish a "core area of mission" related to the central doctrine underlying activities of a public agency, and "an extant mission" related to the entrepreneurial activities of public agencies (Capon & Mauser, 1982). A core area of mission is usually associated with those services that are financed directly and fully from the general fund. An extant mission relates to such activities as self-efficient programs and services partially paid for directly by citizens. A core area of mission, e.g. to provide recreational services to a community, is unlikely to change without significant political changes. However, the extant mission can change as many times as an agency's management believe is necessary to better serve the recreation needs of the community, provided that city council approves it. For example, if a group of citizens comes to the department with an idea to organize a bridge club and if the agency's management has funds or ways to support this initiative, then extant mission can be easily changed even though it may involve diverting funds to bring from another activity. It should be noted, however, that the extant mission is subservient to the core area of mission which has been defined and approved by the city council. Thus, it is very likely that few public park and recreation agencies would be able to provide such services as striptease night clubs, bars, or vacation cabins because city council would be less likely approve such recreation programs

even though they might be self-efficient. The strong control typically exercised by a city council over the core area of mission and the spending of general fund resources designated for community parks and recreation suggests that departments of recreation tend to be closed-system organizations with a clearly specified goal and relatively little dependence of the external environment.

A closed-system organization has management implications. Hage (1965) suggested that the efficacy of the core area and extant missions of public agencies could be evaluated under categories: flexibility; effectiveness; efficiency; and job satisfaction. Flexibility or adaptiveness is measured by the number of new services and the number of new techniques adopted per year. Effectiveness or production is measured by the number and diversity of services delivered each year. Efficiency or cost is measured by cost per service or program. Finally, job satisfaction or morale is measured by employees' satisfaction with intrinsic and extrinsic job attributes and by overall turnover rate.

Hage (1965) further suggested that there are at least four primary options available to managers for dealing with the mission sub-tasks: complexity; centralization; formalization; and stratification. Complexity or specialization is the number of occupations and the level of training required for them. Centralization is a hierarchy of authority and is measured by the proportion of decision-makers and the target areas of these decisions-makers available to a manager. Formalization or standardization is measured as the number of jobs and the range of normative variations allowed within these jobs. Finally, stratification is a status system measured by the difference in income, and prestige among jobs, and the rate of mobility between low- and high-ranking jobs.

A central proposition in Hage's (1965) axiomatic theory of closed-system organizations is the limit proposition, which suggests that the major challenge confronting the public organization is the limits of available means. Hage suggested axioms and corollaries which have implications for the effective management of closed-system types of organizations operating in a doing more with less environment. For example, the high level of stratification leads to a high level of production and low levels of job satisfaction and adaptiveness. The high level of centralization leads to a high level of production and formalization. In turn, a high level of formalization leads to higher levels of efficiency (Table 4). Because Hage's axiomatic theory is based on the assumption that available means are limited, and at the same time

recognizes that rules and regulations inhibit efficiency, it appears to be a useful conceptual construct for explaining the activities of public park and recreation agencies operating in a "doing more with less" environment.

Table 4. *The Axiomatic Theory of Closed-System Organization*

Major Propositions:
The higher the centralization, the higher the production.
The higher the formalization, the higher the efficiency.
The higher the centralization, the higher the formalization.
The higher the stratification, the lower the job satisfaction.
The higher the stratification, the higher the production.
The higher the stratification, the lower the adaptiveness.
The higher the complexity, the lower the centralization.
Limits Proposition:
Production imposes limits on complexity, centralization, formalization, stratification, adaptiveness, efficiency, and job satisfaction.
Derived Corollaries:
The higher the formalization, the higher the production.
The higher the centralization, the higher the efficiency.
The lower the job satisfaction, the higher the production
The lower the job satisfaction, the lower the adaptiveness.
The higher the production, the lower the adaptiveness.
The higher the complexity, the lower the production
The higher the complexity, the lower the formalization.
The higher the production, the higher the efficiency.
The higher the stratification, the higher the formalization.
The higher the efficiency, the lower the complexity.
The higher the centralization, the lower the
The higher the centralization, the lower the adaptiveness.
The higher the stratification, the lower the complexity.
The higher the complexity, the higher the job satisfaction.
The lower the complexity, the lower the adaptiveness.
The higher the stratification, the higher the efficiency.
The higher the efficiency, the lower the job satisfaction.
The higher the efficiency, the lower the adaptiveness.
The higher the centralization, the higher the job satisfaction.
The higher the formalization, the lower the job satisfaction.
The higher the formalization, the lower the adaptiveness.

Adapted From: Hage, J. (1965).

The Interaction with its Environment

Many conceptualizations of public sector or nonprofit marketing tend to be based on the exchange concept which invites an economic type of analysis. From a redistribution system perspective, the exchange interpretation of public sector marketing is inadequate. First, it shows only a small proportion of the full set of relationships that exist between government and citizens, by focusing only on the direct organization-service beneficiary relationships. According to this perspective, the agency is the center of the universe and government is a sputnik rotated around the agency. This is the microeconomic system type of analysis where marketing refers to agency A inducing behavior in interest group B, not for B's benefit, but for A's since success of A's marketing efforts is measured by profit earned by A (Dixon, 1978). Because the organization is the primary unit of such an analysis the administrative role of government is minimized and limited, so the public parks and recreation agency is incorrectly perceived to be the initiator of all marketing efforts and government is incorrectly perceived as an implicit constraint to such efforts.

Dixon (1978) argues that the application of microeconomic analysis to the activities of public agencies creates confusion. The public park and recreation agency, which is a subsystem of the larger redistribution system, is perceived to absorb this redistribution system so the agency becomes the dominant system and government a subsystem. The redistribution system implies that a public agency is a subsystem of the redistribution system. A redistribution perspective analyses interaction between government, public agency, and citizens as a top-bottom hierarchical relationship, where the government is the center of the universe, and the public agency, as well as non-profit and profit organizations, are sputniks rotated around it.

Further, there is a fallacious tendency to conceptualize government and citizen interactions as *between* relationships. Usually, it is presented and expressed graphically with horizontal lines of simultaneous or postponed giving and receiving. Such analysis invites consideration of the relation between government and citizens in terms of different types of reciprocity (e. g. direct or univocal) and forms of exchange (e.g. restricted or generalized) (Ekeh 1974; Carman, 1980; Pandya & Dholakia, 1992). However, if the premise is accepted that relations between government and citizens involves redistribution of wealth through taxation, then the reciprocity consideration of such relationships can be misleading. For example, Brody (1985, p. 341) notes that: "…reciprocity is a barrier to redistribution of wealth." Even though reciprocity can be

one-way giving, as implied by generalized exchange, it implies reciprocation or "repayment" of the same amount of resources after a certain period of time. According to Brody (1985, p. 341), "those who begin with the fewest resources will always have fewest under this system" and this contradicts the notion of redistribution whose primary goal is a shift of wealth.

From the within relation perspective, which is characteristic of the redistribution system, it is important to understand these relationships as top-bottom organized and involving two relatively independent steps. The first step is the collection of taxes from bottom to the top, and the second step is the delivery of services from top to bottom. If these premises are accepted, then the quid pro quo notion of dyadic exchange and rules of generalized reciprocity are logically replaced with the concept of redistributive justice and forms of equity. The role of government as central political authority becomes dominant and the public agency assumes an appropriate place and role within the larger redistribution system (Figure 8).

The Motivation of Park and Recreation Professionals

Employees join a public park and recreation agency because they believe it is in their self-interest. Government is perceived as an employer who hires labor as a factor of production to deliver services to the community. However, this appears to be the only similarity between the motivations of personnel in private profit-seeking organizations and those in public agencies. There are arguments which suggest that a public park and recreation agency should be driven by concerns for the public interest rather than by employees' self-interest. In the private firm individuals combine for the primary aim of making a profit. Von Mises (1944, p. 64) noted that: "under the profit motive every industrial aggregate, no matter how big it may be, is in a position to organize its whole business and each part of it in such a way that the spirit of capitalist acquisitiveness permeates it from top to bottom." The interpretation of self-interest motivation as giving license to an unlimited spirit of acquisitiveness has been criticized as being immoral, egotistic, and selfish.

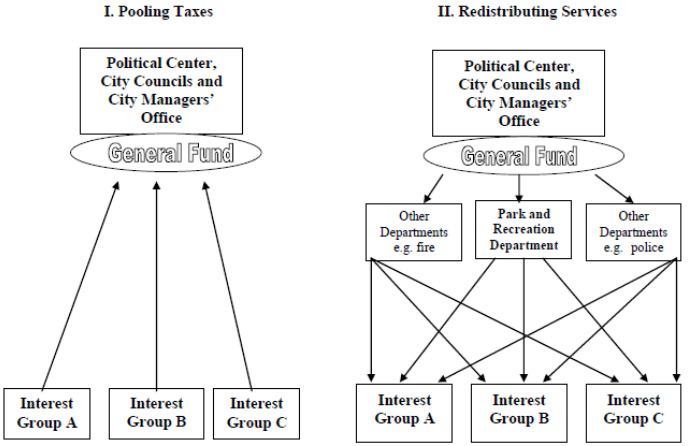

Figure 8. *Administered Marketing*

This criticism of self-interest motivation may be misleading, in the same way that criticisms of bureaucracy as being a necessarily inefficient and unresponsive system of management may be misleading. Hayek (1944, p. 59) one of the few writers who has been able to explain the real meaning of self-interest motivation states that it:

> … does not assume, as is often asserted, that man is egotistic or selfish or ought to be. It merely starts from the indisputable fact that the limits of our powers of imagination make it impossible to include in our scale of values more then a sector of the needs of the whole society… individuals should be allowed, within defined limits, to follow their own values and preferences rather than somebody else's.

However, while defending self-interest motivation, neither Friedrich Hayek nor Adam Smith denied the need for state activity in the form of common action which was confined to areas where people agreed on common social ends. Hayek cited Adam Smith's words that there was a need to supplement competition with services "of such a nature, that the profit could never repay the expense to any individual or small group of individuals" (p. 59). Hayek (1944, pp. 59-60) recognized that there are certain functions which the state exercises that require imposing the "agreement of a substantial majority" on others who disagree because "there will be almost as many views about what the government should do as there are different people." Hayek recognized the need to "suppress individual freedom" because "we can unfortunately not indefinitely

extend the sphere of common action and still leave the individual free in his own sphere" (p. 60).

Implementation of the will of the majority by the state implies the use of benevolence and malevolence motivational methods such as fear and love (Boulding 1970; 1973). Collection of taxes under a redistribution system to finance the provision of recreation and park services reflects the will of the majority. Those who agree to pay taxes expect government to deliver quality recreation services. Those who disagree with it are forced to pay taxes anyway or be prepared to accept legal actions for not paying taxes. Foldvary (1994, p. 9) notes:

> The political process, the public service governance of today's countries, states and cities, may encompass many personas who agree to some particular rule, but not all who are subject to the rule make an explicit agreement to enact it (otherwise it would be classified as a market process); therefore, the rule is unilateral and imposed with respect to any person subject to the rule who has not or would not agree to it.

The American Society for Public Administration's (ASPA) Code of Ethics was developed as a set of moral principles in 1981 by the Society for Public Administration's National Council. Three years later in 1984, the Council approved a Code of Ethics for ASPA members. In 1994 the Code was revisited. The revisited code consists of five topics and 32 articles. The first topic "Serve the public interest" encourages public servants to "serve the public, beyond serving oneself." It emphasizes the exercise of discretional authority, compassion, and benevolence.

The second topic "Respect the constitution and the law" instructs public administrators to know, respect, and support government regulations that define the responsibilities of public agencies and employees. The second topic promotes equality and responsiveness; understanding legislation and regulations relevant to the professional role; improvement of counter-productive or obsolete policies; and prevention of all forms of public fund mismanagement.

The third topic "Demonstrate Personal Integrity" encourages public administrators to demonstrate the highest standards in all their activities in order to inspire public confidence and trust in public service. This topic commits public administrators to maintaining truthfulness and honesty and not to compromise them for personal gain; to zealously guard against the misuse of public resources or the acceptance of gifts; and to respect colleagues and the public.

The fourth topic "Promote Ethical Organization" requires public administrators to be ethical, efficient and effective in serving the public. It suggests that procedures be established that promote ethical behavior and encourage organizations to adopt, distribute, and periodically review a code of ethics as a living document.

Finally, the last topic "Strive for professional excellence" commits public servants to strengthen their individual capabilities and to encourage the professional development of others. It encourages them to participate in professional activities and associations; to meet with students; and to upgrade their professional competence. The full list of articles and detailed analysis and interpretation of them can be found in Van Wart (1996).

If the community of park and recreation professionals recognize themselves as public administrators then the ASPA's code of ethics can serve as useful guidelines in their management and marketing decisions. Capon & Mauser (1982) and Laszniak *et al.,* (1979) point out that in the general marketing literature, ethical issues in the context of nonprofit marketing remain "surprisingly silent." Similarly, in the parks and recreation literature, with the exception of Dustin *et al.*,' s (1995) concept of the worth ethic, there seems to have been little documented efforts to apply the ASPA's code of ethics in the context of marketing.

The Concept of Administered Marketing

There are many definitions of public sector marketing, as well as general marketing, so it is with the some reluctance that the author proposes another such definition. Nevertheless, the data and results of the empirical and non-empirical procedures suggest that the marketing-like activities of public parks and recreation agencies could be descriptively termed as "administered marketing."

The historical root of administered marketing is administered trade. Under administered trade "prices, as well as all other terms, had been negotiated with the king before any transactions could take place" (Arnold, 1957, p. 168). Historical records document that under the system of administered trade the king "fixes the price of every sort." After "the terms were agreed upon and the king's customs paid" the merchant had "full liberty to trade, which is proclaimed throughout the country by the king's cryer" (Arnold, 1957, p. 168). Although records of administered trade stem from the eighteenth century, they seem to aptly describe the modern regulation policies of local government regarding collection of

taxes and the approval of fee structures for some government services including parks and recreation.

Redistribution is the central concept underlying administrative marketing. A city council, as an elected and commonly recognized political authority collects property and sale taxes from citizens and deposit them into the general fund. After taxes have been collected, they are distributed among the different services delivered to the community. Government establishes the department of parks and recreation, finances it, determines its goals, mission, and rules, and authorizes it to provide services for the community including some that require fees. A department of parks and recreation is a bureaucratic closed-system agency with a clearly defined mission, moral principles, hierarchical structure, and internal arrangements designed to effectively implement the mission.

A professional administrative marketer is someone who seeks to understand, plan, and manage redistributive arrangements. She or he would not be expected to focus upon selling the agency's services and generating revenue, but to look at the agency, its mission, and its problems in a rational manner: identifying objectives; discovering the recreational needs of citizens through research; weighing the opportunities and constraints; determining the resources available to the agency and exploring alternative sources of resources; examining the various ways, in which client requirements can be met and the amount of human resources and type work that needs to be done.

Additionally, an administrative marketer would be concerned with the resources, efforts, and time that citizens, donors, and partners are willing to contribute; location of the agency's facilities and scheduling of times when these services are offered; behavior of employees in accordance with established moral standards and, finally, control mechanisms which help to determine if the agency is functioning as planned, or whether changes and adjustments are required in response to new citizen demands. All of this is embraced in the following definition of administered marketing:

> Administered marketing is the analysis, planning, implementation, and control of programs designed to facilitate redistributive arrangements within a community for the purpose of achieving established community objectives.

Chapter 7.
Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter identifies uniqueness of the administered marketing concept and suggests directions for future research. Identifying the distinct nature of administered marketing, this chapter compares the concept with alternative previously developed conceptualizations of public, nonprofit, government, and social types of marketing. Additionally, it explains how administered marketing in the context of public parks and recreation is different from other conceptualizations of public park and recreation marketing. In suggesting directions for future research, this chapter explains why empirical field work was limited to certain concepts identified during non-empirical procedures. In conclusion, thew chapter discusses limitations of the study and offers additional areas of research which could be highly relevant to the discussion of administrated marketing and public park and recreation marketing.

Uniqueness of Administered Marketing

The concept of administered marketing developed in this study differs from existing conceptualizations in several important ways. Conceptualizations of nonprofit marketing can be characterized as a continua. On one side would be located perspectives that consider marketing as a set of tools for managing exchanges (e.g. Coffman, 1986; Crompton & Lamb, 1986b; Mokwa *et al.,* 1980; Kotler, 1975; Lovelock & Weinberg, 1984; Manoff, 1985; McCort, 1994). Marketing is perceived as being concerned with satisfying clientele needs and, hence, the marketing is defined as identifying and fulfilling visitors needs through the integrated use of marketing

tools with the goal of creating consumer satisfaction, which is the organization's primary goal (Kotler, 1975a). This is most dominant perspective underlying most conceptualizations developed for parks and recreation (Howard & Crompton, 1980; Leadly, 1992; O'Sullivan, 1991; Torkildsen, 1991).

At the other end of the continuum are perspectives that do not consider marketing to be defined by with exchange processes. These perspectives discard both the voluntary exchange of values and marketing concept as means for meeting visitors' needs. According to these conceptualizations, marketing is a set of tools designed to induce behavior change. From this premise, the marketing concept is defined as inducing changes in existing patterns of behavior. Persuasive communications and adapting to existing patterns of behavior are seen as marketing's two primary characteristics. This perspective distinguishes between a core area of mission and an augmented mission and argues that tools of persuasion are central to achieving the core area of mission, while a marketing and sales orientations are appropriate for the augmented mission activities (Capon & Mauser, 1982; Lauffer, 1984; Rados, 1981).

Between the continuum extremes, there are conceptualizations that incorporate elements of both extremes. For example, Dixon (1978) does not accept the conceptualization of marketing as a management technology, arguing that marketing is a social activity and a social science concerned with study of such market activities as buying and selling. A similar conceptualization but with different nuances is offered by Pandya & Dholakia (1992) who positioned their approach in the political economy paradigm developed in the marketing literature by Arndt (1981). Their perspective advocates conceptualization of social marketing based on both exchange *and* redistribution and reciprocity arrangements, although the authors mistakenly perceive the later two arrangements as other forms of exchange.

Administered marketing is a synergetic concept. It accepts the premise of supporters of exchange conceptualizations that marketing is a management technology. However, it rejects the concept of voluntary exchange as being universal and as underlying all of marketing activities. Instead, it recognizes the concept of redistribution, but does not accept that it is merely another form of exchange. It is derived from the classic notion of redistribution with all the rules and premises that comprise this system which have been developed and documented by economic anthropologists and historians.

Directions for Future Research

The notion of reciprocity is still largely unexplored, in the context of public park and recreation marketing. One of limitations of this dissertation is that it did not empirically address the conceptualization of marketing based on a reciprocity arrangement. While the study's non-empirical procedures identified evidence to support such a conceptualization (Figure 7), it was not tested during the interviews with managers. There were several reasons for excluding the reciprocity conceptualization of marketing from empirical testing. First, the critical appraisal and subsequent triangulation of alternative concepts suggested that the reciprocity conceptualization is likely to be particularly relevant to non-profit types of organizations. These organizations depend to some extent on the external environment which means they operate as contingency-choice system organizations. They are concerned with social causes and, hence, many employees are not motivated by self-interest motivation. Finally, they pursue charitable missions, which implies that they are involved in one-way transfers of grants or gifts from which they may expect reciprocation in the future.

The second reason for excluding the reciprocity conceptualization of public sector marketing from the empirical interviews was to avoid confusing interviewees with the terminology used in the instrument. In addition, reciprocity arrangements were excluded from the discussion because they were likely to be relevant to the activities of non-profit organizations, rather than bureaucratic agencies. There are major differences between the two types of organizations, but some have suggested that the reciprocity conceptualization can be appropriate for the activities of bureaucratic organizations (Pandya & Dholakia 1992). The extent to which these concepts can be applied in the public sector should be tested in the future. It seems that reciprocity arrangements based on generalized exchange and the univocal type of reciprocity may explain interactions such as sponsorships donations negotiated by public park and recreation agencies.

Additional suggestions for future research can be derived from the results of the critical appraisal summarized in Figure 7. The vertical side of Figure 7, "marketing categories," could be extended further to include categories such as decision-making and the nature of resources. In the general public administration literature, there is ongoing controversy between two schools of thought on the issue of decision making. One school advocates incrementalism, while the other defends cost-benefit analysis. Rational cost-benefit analysis is a key facet of the exchange

conceptualization of marketing. Does it also fit the conceptualization of bureaucratic organizations, or is the incrementalist decision making approach advocated by Lindblom (1959) superior? Which approach can better describe decision-making in public park and recreation agencies is a matter for future research.

This study did not address the nature of resources issue, although it is a part of the Northwestern school's exchange conceptualization of marketing (Bagozzi, 1975). Bagozzi (1975) discussed the media and meanings of exchange, and he distinguished between symbolic, utilitarian, and mixed meanings of exchange, and between products, services, money, persuasion, punishment, power, inducement and normative commitments as media of exchange. These ideas were borrowed from sociological work on the concept of influence developed by Parsons (1963). The review of the literature in this study suggested that there is no common approach to these issues. Malinowskyi's symbolic exchange and Parson's concept of influence are still debated among sociologists and anthropologists (Bauer 1963; Coleman, 1963). Unfortunately, Bagozzi (1975) avoided this discussion in his work. Another example is the empirical evidence that different types of resources follow different rules of exchange and principles of equity, which are not necessarily based on utilitarian, market, or quid-pro quo considerations (Foa, 1971). What types of resources and what types of rules are relevant to the activities of public agencies should be addressed in future research. Some suggest that the particularistic-universalistic dichotomy of resources developed by Parsons and Foa may be a superior conceptual construct to explain exchange rules. These studies have been extensively and empirically tested (Converse & Foa, 1993; Berg & Wiebe, 1993) but not in the public sector context.

Concluding Remarks

When this dissertation was almost complete at the end of 1998, an issue of the *Journal of Marketing* reviewed new book that is relevant to the topic of the dissertation. The social exchange school of thought, whose methodological and ideological limitations were discussed and criticized in length in this dissertation, launched a new initiative in the field of public administration. Following their success in non-profit organizations, social cause agencies, health care, political candidates, and tourist organizations, the book focused on the relationships of nations. Kotler with his colleagues (Kotler, Jatussripitak, & Maesingee, 1997) published a new text

"*The Marketing of Nations*," the title of which has obvious allusion to Adam Smith's contribution to economics and philosophy.

The appearance of such a text confirms that the conservative ideological and methodological traditions of the Chicago school, based on social exchange remain paramaunt, despite empirical and conceptual criticism leveled at it by other social scientists. Almost a decade ago, Monieson (1988, p. 6), who has been perhaps the most eloquent critic of the social exchange school, anticipated the appearance of such text: "Intellectualization is a conceit which dictates that no mysteries of the world are impervious to rationalization and calculation and ultimately all dark continents can and will be conquered in this manner."

The advantage of the critical theory methodology employed in this dissertation is that it gives us a multi-conceptual diversity of perspectives on a particular subject. The term marketing appears to have entered the international public management lexicon as part of broader trend of "reinventing government," which calls for the adoption of a more business-like efficient and effective public management. Some commentators argue that it is a trend relevant to Anglo-Saxon countries. For example, one European student of public administration who was a critic of the business-like "'new public management" approach to public administration concluded:

> From a historical point of view, it does seem absurd that governments today are urged to adopt business-like management. Western public administration has a centuries' long tradition of 'running its business' in quite an 'effective and efficient' way, long before factories and industrial business were invented. The science of business management, originating in the United States as a reaction to the model of bureaucracy, dates from the early decades of the twentieth century. After a little more than half a century of development in the theories of American business management, Western public administration adopts 'managerialism' in the name of effectiveness and efficiency (Kikert, 1997, p. 750).

However, the same writer recognized that today "it should be clear that we are not yet able to offer an adequate alternative to Anglo-American managerialism" (p. 750). This dissertation had a different goal. Rather than looking for an "adequate alternative," it attempted to coalesce ideas and concepts of marketing that originated under the development of "managerialism," with a conceptually solid and empirically supported alternative for use in a public administration context which has been termed "administered marketing."

Appendix A
Instrument 1

TOPIC I. THE SYSTEM
Alternative Views of the System within whicha Park and Recreation Agency Operates

Two different perspectives have been suggested as ways of viewing the system within which a park and recreation agency operates. The first perspective emphasizes an economic approach, while the alternative perspective emphasizes a political approach.

Perspective 1. 1. Wide Discretion

In the first perspective, a public park and recreation agency is viewed as being at the center of a system that responds quickly and directly to an array of different interest groups. This perspective is depicted in Figure A. 1. It shows a department which has been delegated wide discretion to interact with, and respond directly to, the needs of the interest groups. The department is given broad sideboards which are defined by financial boundaries and general goals. However, within those sideboards decision-makers have substantial independence to respond quickly to changes in the environment in which the agency operates.

Perspective 1. 2. Narrow Discretion

In the second perspective, a public park and recreation agency is viewed as being constrained by the larger political system in which it operates, having relatively little freedom to act responsively toward interest groups without approval from a dominant political center which governs the system. This perspective is reflected in Figure A. 2 which shows a park and recreation department that is subject to tight central control enforced by the city manager's office and/or by city council who define who is to be served and how they are to be served. Almost all decisions have to "go through channels" and be authorized by the political center of the city before actions can be taken.

Questions:

1. Which of these alternatives do you think best represents the system in which public park and recreation agencies currently operate?
2. Please explain the reasons for your choice. Feel free to give illustrations or practical examples.
3. Please explain your reasons for not choosing the alternative perspective?
4. What do you think are the weaknesses of each of the two approaches?
5. What do you think are the strengths of each of the two approaches?
6. What does the term "bureaucracy" mean to you?
7. What are your feelings towards the term "bureaucracy"?

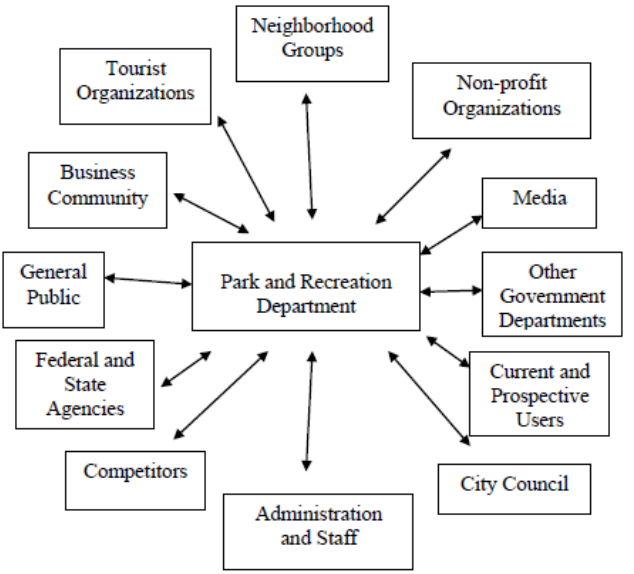

Figure A1. *The First Perspective*

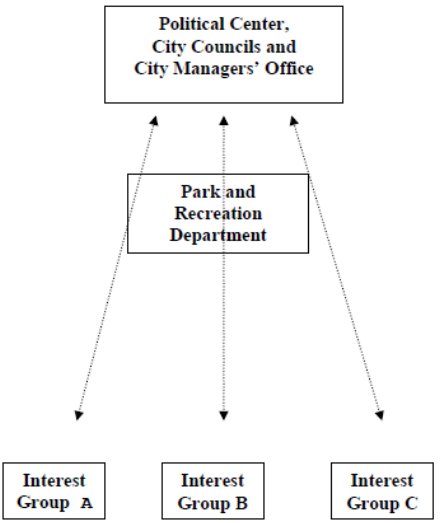

Figure A2. *The Second Perspective*

TOPIC II. THE ORGANIZATION
Alternative Views of How a Public Park and Recreation Agency is Organized

A public park and recreation agency may be described as a formal organization whose primary goal is to serve the park and recreation needs of the community. Please, consider two different perspectives of how decisions in such an organization should be made.

Perspective 2. 1. Hierarchical Organization

The first perspective stresses both the pursuit of clearly specified goals and procedures, and a pyramidal hierarchy of positions and regulations. All of these features are designed in accordance with a philosophy which says, "If this is the goal, then these are the most rational procedures for achieving it." The tasks, the sphere of activities, and the authority to make decisions are clearly delineated, tightly defined and proscribed. They are assigned to members of the agency based on the position of those members in the hierarchical pyramid. All decisions are perceived to be centralized, so employees in the middle and lower echelons of the pyramid are not required to make any substantive decisions.

Perspective 2. 2. Flat Organization

The second perspective encourages a flat hierarchy and decentralized decision-making in the organization, because success is perceived to depend on the agency being able to respond quickly and to adapt to interest groups. Under this perspective, the agency is not pre-occupied with following pre-established goals. Emphasis within the agency tends to be placed on efforts to attract additional resources from external sources beyond those regularly provided by the agency's governing political center.

Questions

1. Which of these alternatives do you think best describes most public park and recreation agencies?
2. If directors of park and recreation agencies had the freedom to choose, which of these alternatives do you believe most of them would prefer to operate under? Why?
3. Please explain the reasons for your choice. Feel free to give illustrations and/or practical examples.
4. Please explain your reasons for not choosing the other perspective?
5. What do you think are the weaknesses of each perspective?
6. What do you think are the strengths of each perspective?

TOPIC III. INTERACTION WITH ENVIRONMENTS

Alternative Views of How a Park and Recreation Agency Interacts with its Environments

Two different perspectives have been suggested to describe how a park and recreation agency interacts with its interest groups.

Perspective 3. 1. Voluntary Exchange

The first perspective considers that interactions are voluntary exchanges between the agency and its interest groups. Voluntary exchange characterizes situations where at least two parties are involved and where each party receives something of value from the other party.

Perspective 3. 2. Redistribution

The second perspective is that a public park and recreation agency achieves its goals through redistribution. Redistribution entails the obligatory payment of taxes by community members. These are then redistributed by the city council in order to provide community services, including parks and recreation. The allocation of the redistribution is seen to be made democratically by political, legislative, and voting procedures.

Questions

1. Which of these alternatives do you think best describes the interactions of most park and recreation agencies with interest groups?
2. Please explain the reasons for your choice. Feel free to give illustrations and/or practical examples.
3. Please explain your reasons for not choosing the other perspective.
4. What do you think are the weaknesses of each perspective?
5. What do you think are the strengths of each perspective?
6. In your view is the payment of taxes a voluntary activity freely chosen by residents, or is it a payment imposed by government action?

TOPIC IV. MOTIVATION OF PERSONNEL
Alternative Views of What Motivates Public Park and Recreation Agency Personnel

Two different perspectives have been suggested to explain the motives which underlie the actions of public park and recreation agency personnel.

Perspective 4. 1. Self-Interest

The first perspective suggests that the collective need for parks and recreation in a community is served best when the managers and employees of a park and recreation agency, and community members, primarily pursue their own self-interests. These self-interests dictate why they selected to work in this field. They are key to the emotional commitment of these individuals and also to sustaining their enthusiasm for what they do.

Perspective 4. 2. Public Service

The second perspective views the collective need for park and recreation in a community as being served best when the managers and employees of a public park and recreation agency and community members focus upon serving the interests of community groups rather then upon their own self-interests. Self-interest tends to be ignored as managers and employees strive to service the needs of these interest groups.

Questions

1. Which of these alternatives do you think best describes the motivations of most public park and recreation agency personnel?
2. Please explain the reasons for your choice. Feel free to give illustrations and/or practical examples.
3. Please explain your reasons for not choosing the other perspective?
4. What do you think are the weaknesses of each perspective?
5. What do you think are the strengths of each of the perspective?

Appendix B
Summary of Respondents' Responses

Topic I. The System

Respondent 1. (P&R Practitioner)

I think that most public recreation agencies, including ours, operate under wide discretion rather than narrow discretion. I feel that in our particular department, we have quite a bit of discretion to do our business and to provide services to customers. I think that this is the case in most municipal departments. If we go to the national level, then I think many agencies are under narrow discretion. Certainly, we are under constraints as to the amount of budget and people and those kinds of things that we get. But we do have discretion on how we put programs together, how we structure them, the time we start them. We have a lot of flexibility in that.

There is also flexibility in the way we go about our day to day operations and maintenance procedures. We have accounts that have specific items in them, but we are not tied to that amount for each specific item. We may have a certain amount for supplies, utilities, and the like, but we can move them around as long as we stay within a budget at the departmental level. As long as we also comply with other things that involve purchasing laws and those types of things we have flexibility. For instance, if we save some money on utilities for something and we need some money for supplies, then we can use it for that.

When interest groups come to us, everything depends on the scope of the request. If there is something we can respond to within the resources that we have within the department, either facilities, money, personnel or whatever it might be, we certainly have the ability and the authority to do that. If it something that is beyond our financial or personnel resources than we need approval and permission from above, and we often get it if the city has additional resources. We have broad discretion in terms of our operations, provided we stay within our budget. I think this is general tendency among most park and recreation departments and this distinguishes us from police and fire departments where there is much less discretion.

With proper motivation and adequate resources, a highly skilled bureaucrat can make the seeming impossible task become a reality over night. By the same token, this same bureaucrat, armed with the proper policies, procedures and direction, can easily cause any routine request to become almost unattainable.

Respondent 2. (P&R Scholar)

I think the answer depends on the specific department. Some departments are operating under one perspective while others are operating under the other. I don't know which one is the dominant one in the parks and recreation field. If I were forced to choose, my guess would be the second perspective, 1. 2 "narrow discretion," which is pretty much a result of the political process. The narrow discretion thing operates, for

example, in Dallas. It is tightly controlled and does not have wide discretion. Each member of the parks board is appointed by a city council member and this makes a tremendous difference in terms of the level of responsibility. There is a lot of top down control by the level above regarding what the parks and recreation department should be doing. Houston, I think, is probably even more political. There is a lot of political interference into the work of the park and recreation department. For example, the parks and recreation leadership in Houston is not in favor of investing all of the money and resources in soccer that they are doing these days. But they would not dare get rid of it because there are still people at the council level who are adamant about having a major soccer team with the name Houston on it representing the city at tournaments around the country. It seems to be very important to them.

I think Austin and Forth Worth are better examples of the first perspective where there is much wider discretion. However, there are still limitations. For example, one manager wanted to move money around in his youth initiative but he could not. You can not move monies between different program areas easily. So regarding the two alternative perspectives, I think that many things depend on what kind of department it is and what level you are asking about. However, in both cases I think there is a great deal of dependence on the budget level and council and upper management decision making.

Respondent 3 (P&R Practitioner)

I think of lot of systems in Texas at the current time operate under the second perspective, "Narrow discretion." Not only park and recreation, but municipal government on the whole is for the most part very conservative. Typically, when it comes down to advances, technology, equipment, and so on, the municipal sector is always behind the curve on being able to access those types of advances and technology. Political reality is that there is a support structure within which you are required to operate, while wide discretion is something that we would like to be able to work under. I think a lot of systems in very small towns are able to do that, to have discretionary opportunities to develop new programs. But reality is that you are operating under given constraints and it is up to you as a manager, as a leader, to try to figure out how you get away from the limitations of the budget.

For example, if a fee for a new program is not in our fee schedule than we cannot charge you that fee because we cannot charge for anything that has not been duly authorized by the city council. Ultimately, it is a city council directive that gives us the authority to charge for particular programs. What happens is that you might come up with a very wonderful program, but in order to pay for it the fees need be to $35 for ten lessons and we need to get permission to make this change. Creativity and flexibility is constrained by rules and regulations. Wide discretion disappears if you are talking about a new facility, or major pieces of equipment. We definitely do not have the authority on these cases.

However, everything under $100,000 the city manager has authority to act on, provided it has been preliminary approved in the city budget.

If I had a choice I definitely would choose the first perspective, the wide discretion. Conservative nature comes because cities have a very difficult task with coming up with money to operate. Money to operate comes from a variety of sources, but traditionally the bulk of money is from taxes. So, there is a built in warning that you have to be careful with the public's monies. You do not have the right to make a $500,000 mistake. In private business you might make that mistake, and another executive might come back and say no it was a $500,000 investment and we will get it back. In private business there may be a second chance, but the city does not give you that luxury.

That's why there is some of direction to look for alternative financial sources such as self-sufficient programs. When you have a financial pie you can cut it in as many ways as you want, but the pie is not getting any bigger. You have to look for partnership thinking about what you can do for me, as I do something for you in order to help me out. For example, I have people who wanted to donate money because we had an American bald eagle shot at a lake. People wanted to donate money to improve protection. I said to them honestly that we would be better served as an organization if they donated the money to purchase something that we could use at the lake. Because if they give me the money, it will go into the general fund and I don't get it. We have our money to work with that we were given and we don't get extra. Every dollar we receive we have to account for.

Bureaucracy to me is basically the system set up to do the job. I tell a lot of folks that I am a bureaucrat and have no difficulties saying that. I am a government worker; I am here to do the best I can. We have rules and regulations that we have to abide by. People cannot expect us to make mistakes in our bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is the system we set up to get the job done.

Respondent 4. (MKTG Scholar)

I think I prefer the wide discretion model both from the standpoint if I were involved in working for that kind of agency and also from the viewpoint of a citizen. The reason why I prefer wide discretion is that probably, the more money that is put into administration, the more complex the structure of the organization becomes, and this typically requires more funds to administer this structure. From an efficiency standpoint, I like the wide discretion because from an organizational standpoint workers have more motivation and control. I think it is easier for someone to be efficient and motivated internally to perform well. I think also that there is probably less chance that one individual or two are going to have an opportunity to behave unethically if they choose to do that by having agendas that do not relate to providing park and recreation services to various groups. I think when you have it centralized with a few people making that choice, then you risk having a certain political group gain control of it and manipulate it to meet their best interests.

Sometimes local governments fall victims to certain groups, of just a few people, who have economic power in a community, and use their power to their advantage. They have a school built near land they want to develop, or they have recreational facilities developed close to land they want to develop. I think it is more likely to have this problem under a centralized system then under the decentralized or wide discretion system. They are more able to manipulate public money for private gain.

I think bureaucracy means multiple levels of hierarchy that resembles Figure 2, probably with even more levels, when there are a lot of regulations or rules. There is a clear lain of communication coming from one level to the next in the form of chain. If you want to communicate with someone in a hierarchy you have to go through an intermediary level first. I do not think that we need it. We need more flat organizations. Bureaucracy is "red tape."

Respondent 5. (PA Scholar)

I think that the recreation department in this town operates on the basis of perspective 1.1. "Wide discretion." My reaction is that most public agencies tend to operate with narrow discretion rather than wide discretion, simply because of the nature of the law. It describes the goal but does not give you a lot of leeway in how to reach it. It puts you in between the goal and does not proscribe a method of activity. We have a mission but no proscription. In this town, I think, the director of the parks and recreation department has wide discretion to do business or to experiment. I think the mission is open. I would not prefer wide discretion for managing, for example, electric lines. But a parks and recreation department offers many different things, and options, and wide discretion would be appropriate.

Bureaucracy means to me, generally speaking, a large hierarchical organization. The negative attitude towards this term I think stems from the 1950s when the term was not used much. Weber was translated in the late 1940s. For example, I never used this term during my graduate work. I used the term "government." Bureaucracy was not a common term.

Respondent 6. (PA Scholar & Former City Mayor)

I think perspective 1.1. "wide discretion." A park and recreation department has wide discretion to make proposals and the city council as a rule approves them. Wide discretion to me means that you give them resources, money, and let them decide what programs to deliver and how to carry them out. That is what wide discretion means. You still have to approve the money, you still have to approve the fee structure, but you still give the department wide discretion on how they are going to administer the programs.

Bureaucracy is the term coined by Max Weber a long time ago to describe administrative decision-making. Bureaucracy means there are certain rules and procedures.The bureaucratic model is how you decide. The negative attitude towards bureaucracy comes from politicians. People want effective government but we want it to be responsive when we

approach government individually and in some case it means violating the common rules. When a person comes to city hall and demands extra garbage pick ups and wants the council to establish a new rule or schedule for pick ups, we cannot deal with his/her specific problem because there are common rules and schedules designed to meet everyone's needs. A person does not understand that bureaucracy tends to be unresponsive to individual needs. It is concerned with administering a commonly established rule that says that we have a specific time to pick up that person's garbage during the week. Based on the most efficient way to serve everybody. People want productive and efficient government that runs by the rules, except when it comes to them.

Respondent 7. (PA Scholar)

I guess if I am reduced to choosing between one and two, I would prefer one where the agency has substantial discretion to respond to different groups, different users, and so on. I think that makes it more responsive and probably a little bit more effective in the long run. I think it does mean that they have some responsibility to respond to prospective user groups. I assume this is what is meant by interest groups and agencies not always having to look for someone with in hierarchical administrative system to see whether they can do what it seems needs to be done.

Bureaucracy means to me for most part, simply an agency, or administrative system. I do not attach really the meaning to it which a majority of people do. Essentially, I have a positive view of bureaucracy. In popular minds it usually means things like unresponsive, "red tape," slow moving, rigid, and so on. It is often used unfavorably to say: "we don't need another bureaucracy." I would attach a more positive view to it because there are things that we cannot do without administrative organizations of bureaucracy.

Respondent 8 (P&R Practitioner)

I think both perspectives. I really straggle with those two. Because the reality is that it depends on the local situation and local politics. I think it also can change within an agency. In thinking about our agency and in thinking about colleagues, I think that probably 75 per cent of the time we are customer centered and we try to be customer centered 100 per cent of the time. We try to be proactive rather than reactive. An example I would give you is from our own business on an ongoing basis, is that we go after grants. Nobody tells us to do that. We into collaborations as much as we possibly can. That is part of our standard operating procedure. I think politically people say that after school programming needs to happen, but talking is as far as it goes with them. Here in the trenches, we know it has to happen so we direct it because we have the discretion to be able to do that.

Another example of working with the community is when we go out to acquire a park, we get their input as to what they'd like to see

programmed in that park. We do that without any political involvement or political direction or direct control.

In the examples I gave you, 75-80 per cent of the time we are directed by ourselves, but there is always times that politically it can be blocked and the decision taken away from us. Golf would be a very good example. We have a very good golf program here but politically its potential has been reduced. I have a good manager but the council got involved and directed in that I hire another position over him to oversee the operation of our courses. It makes no sense at all. Fortunately, it is not taxpayers dollars because it is all enterprise fund. Now we have to find $75,000 more, because the council is dictating the management structure of our golf enterprise. They have done that because of interest groups, because they see golfers, because of specific individuals out in the community who don't believe that the golf program was operating as well as it could. Because we had a couple of golf courses in a weak state and had problems with one of our golf management companies.

Their role should be policy direction, to the city manager. They should say: "Mr. park director we want as good a golf program as we can get." That is all they shall be telling us, and then we decide how to implement such a policy. None of them play golf but they intervene in its management.

Another example is we are short of soccer fields in this community. I have been telling them this for years and I have not been heard. So 25 per cent of the time we have narrow discretion. But it is like old 80/20 rule, the narrow things take up most of your time. I have wide discretion to hire new personnel. It is established by charter. The same with new programs. So 70-80 per cent it is up to us. As far as the budgetary process is concerned, we deal with both city manager and city council.

New programs are mostly rejected because of lack of money. We have 19 community centers in the city, 12 of those are traditional recreation centers and in those 12 we have only 3 staff persons. For a number of years, in the budget process, we have recommended that we add additional positions to each of those centers and restructure the staffing levels there. It is about a $250,000 ticket item. And it is rejected every year mostly because of lack of funds. The question is, do we do enhancements in park maintenance or the enhancements in youth programs? What about the library which needs more books? What about the police department who say they need new cars and the fire department which needs a fire truck? The council and city manager have to balance it globally. We compete well, but you do not always get everything that you ask for.

Our general budget $14 million, and $500,000 of that comes from user fees. Most of the users fee structure is established by council. So 85 per cent of the time they accept what we recommend to them. It is matter of presenting it. I would like to have about 90 per cent of wide discretion, but I think that checks and balances are important in public institutions.

Figure 1 describes how my department works 75 per cent of the time. When I think about bureaucracy, I think differently from the way most

people do. To me it is organized, it is systematic. It is protective of the taxpayers dollars or taxpayers resources. It came about from a need to meet objectives and deliver equal services. When you are dealing with public resources, it has to be done in an equal fashion. Also bureaucracy can be very slow and sometimes cold to the citizen customers, that is why bureaucracy is always used negatively.

Topic II. The Organization

Respondent 1. (P&R Practitioner)

In our case, I would say both perspectives are valid. On paper we show a typical hierarchical organizational chart. You have got a director, division heads, supervisors, and it spells out who reports to whom. But if you draw how it works on a daily basis, it would not be this way at all. It would show lines going across from one area to another. It happens routinely at the supervisor level. There is always a fluid dynamic. We have both top down and crossways relationships. At the mission level it is hierarchical, but at the operational level it is flat and decentralized. The city council set up the vision statement and then ours would be something that supports that. We come up with our goals that are congruent with the city council's vision.

Respondent 2. (PA Scholar)

I think it is the first the 2. 1 perspective, because it best describes the political relationships between city council and its constituencies. There are many levels in such relationships. For example, the individual fee level, but individuals do not always have control here since most fees are settled by government.

Respondent 3. (P&R Practitioner)

Things are changing, but traditionally the first perspective 2.1, the hierarchical organization, is the perspective that most departments operate under. It is a very tight circumstance. Although the economy is dictating a move toward decentralized organizations, I think we still are operating as a top down tight hierarchy.

Respondent 4. (MKTG Scholar)

I think state government works under perspective 2.1 and is very hierarchical. I guess it is the nature of a state system to be hierarchical. At the local level I think it is different from one city to another. Also, I think the larger the city, the more hierarchical system it has. I would prefer perspective 2. 2, the flat organization, for the same reasons we discussed in topic 1. I think, a high hierarchy creates a tremendous administrative burden and certainly consumes tax dollars.

Respondent 5. (PA Scholar)

I would expect a park and recreation department to be closer to the flat organization of perspective 2. 2. in comparison with other public agencies. In terms of their tasks, they have a mission, but it is not so

definite. It is not like police which should enforce the law. It is not like utilities or like picking up the garbage. In parks and recreation there are a lot of things that it is possible to do under either the wide or narrow model. Recreation has a very wide mission. If I had a choice I always would choose the flat, decentralized perspective.

Respondent 6. (PA scholar and former city mayor)

I think that while many cities have hierarchical structures in their park and recreation organizations, in our city the park and recreation department has a flat organization. The manager of our department has a very special style of management. I prefer flat organizations, because hierarchical organizations take a long time to do anything and are occupied too much with procedures and the chain of command. Any system has its weak points and its strong points. If the hierarchy works it is fine. If it does not work we need something different.

Respondent 7. (PA scholar)

Well, here in regard to the organization I would prefer something in between number one and number two. Number 1 [hierarchical organization] seems to me too rigid, too hierarchical, things are too well determined, and, on the other hand, number 2, the flat organization, seems to me too unstructured. I don't think you are entirely loose and can say "do whatever you want." There are goals that are specified and that are supposed to be accomplished in the recreational area. You do not have to be rigid about, this but I really think you need that because it is important for accountability in determining if the agency is doing what it is supposed to be doing. If you do not have some goals, then it does not make lot of sense to me. So, I really prefer something in between 1 and 2. I have a really difficult time saying I prefer 1 or 2 … so can I fudge? I would prefer to say I like 1. 5, a flatter organization but an organization with some goals. Park and recreation organizations need to be responsive to their environment. All of that cannot be predetermined and entirely administered. You would not be happy with a park and recreation system if you had to it that way. Although there would be some conflict between public goals and financial concerns in the second perspective, it still has some positive aspects.

Respondent 8 (P&R Practitioner)

Both perspectives. From a hierarchical perspective, it is important for us to have a strategic plan and to set goals for the year and the next five year to be successful. But in the flat organization, we have got to be able to give some latitude at the lowest possible level we can to be able to meet our customers' needs in a timely way. I think the way most organizations work is to set the global course, establish the mission we are trying to accomplish. What are those objectives on an annual basis? If the organization understands the course of action, then it can move to a flat structure. If you understand the goal, the objectives, the vision, and

the ultimate mission, and the working structure, then you can go do it on your own.

This works at the executive level but it gets watered down at the management level. What I mean is the that for me it is quite clear. We have ten goals in this department. They include everything from financial goals to customer service goals. And each year within those, we set five to ten objectives and those are very clear, e.g. to establish an after school program at 15 community centers at a cost of X number of dollars by April 1. To me they should be able to understand that's the goal. How you get it done is up to you.

When you consider big cities or big organizations across the country, my exposure to most of those directors has been that they are pretty much dictatorial in their management styles. Of course there are some out there that understand that the John Wayne style of management is not working anymore but in perception is that most of them are still into hierarchical decision-making.

Topic III. Interaction with Environments

Respondent 1. (P&R Practitioner)

We use both of these. Redistribution of course is the primary means by which we finance our parks and that pays for basic operations. We also use the fee system and recover 16-22 percent of our budget. Those fees are for swimming pools, athletic teams, and special programs. These funds supplement what we acquire from the tax base. It would be difficult to live without user fees, since we would have to cut our services and it would be more difficult to manage existing programs. Most free services are provided through the redistribution mode. For example, neighborhood parks and playgrounds. There is no effective way you can collect user fees for this type of service. Some other things are the Christmas lights.

If we were totally self-sufficient then most of the services would have to be dropped such as parks. Another thing is that fees would go up and exclude all those people who economically cannot pay. The reverse situation when everything is free can create different types of problems. Of course more people would participate in programs, but they would be less disciplined. For example, signing for a program and not showing up. There would eventually be a feeling that quality of service would diminish because it is free. I would like to see our programs increase user fees such as youth soccer, youth basketball, and all of those programs that are not operated by our department, but that use our facilities. I would like to see them paying nominal fees. We review and adjust our fees every year and communicate them to city council for approval of the necessary changes. User fees usually cover direct operational expenses and rarely cover any of the capital costs. City council pays for the capital expenses from bonds they issue.

Taxes are imposed. The only thing you can do is to be active in the political process to lower or increase them. It is not a voluntarily exchange.

Respondent 2 (PA scholar)

Park and recreation department is a part of the government.

Respondent 3. (P&R Practitioner)

For most park and recreation agencies, in the most part it has to be the second perspective 3. 2, redistribution, because the philosophy is that people should have access to open spaces and opportunities for park and recreation experiences at low or no cost. Cities subsidize recreational activities. I do not think we will get to the situation where all park and recreation activities will be for sale. Voluntary exchange can be applied to some adult types of activities such as softball or volleyball leagues. If you do not want to participate do not, but if you want to participate then you have to pay.

Respondent 4. (MKTG Scholar)

I guess that redistribution is mostly taxation. Clearly, taxes are imposed and they are not voluntary. But if I go to a city recreational area and there is some charge imposed, then I do not view it as a tax, I view it as a user fee. Every year I pay a portion of my property taxes that the city collects and of course when I buy some goods or services I pay a sales tax. Those are imposed. You do not have a choice, you pay those. Taxes are not voluntary. Given that is the largest proportion of money involved, we probably must say that it is redistribution, because we pay for the bulk of the government activities through taxation rather then user fees. Most funding for public agencies comes from redistribution.

Respondent 5. (PA Scholar)

In some cities, I think, it is an exchange perspective. In other cities I think it is a redistribution perspective. I think programs and services sponsored by the city have not been the best for those citizens who are disadvantaged, black and Hispanic. I would say that the quality of services delivered to the disadvantaged has not been good. They have nothing to exchange. That is the problem with servicing the disadvantaged. In you want to reduce crime and many other negative things, then recreation is essential.

Taxes, I think is a voluntary activity. Take for example public education. The development of public education occurs because a majority of citizens vote voluntarily to pay taxes for it. Sometimes there is a situation where a majority doesn't want to pay taxes and there are minorities who would like to. There is also the reverse situation where a majority wants to pay and a minority does not. Is the relationship of citizens with the city council a quid pro quo? I do not know. However, it comes close.

Respondent 6. (PA scholar and former city mayor)

I think most parks' problems are redistributive. An exception might be some adult recreation activities such as golf. Golf courses tend to be self-supporting. But almost everything else tends not to be. For example,

swimming pool fees rarely cover operational costs. Some programs are totally supported by the city budget and bring in zero user fees. Maintenance and construction are heavily subsidized. The only program I know where the fee structure pays 100 per cent of the costs is the softball. Most recreational services are subsidized because they are considered to be a public good.

If taxes are a voluntary activity then the question is "who is the government"? People. People in the form of government establish a tax rate to support services that the same people want. If you let people voluntarily decide to pay or not pay taxes most would probably choose not to pay, but they would still want the free services.

Respondent 7. (PA Scholar)

I think as a practical matter, most systems would work as described in perspective 3. 2. "Redistribution" where taxes come in and then they are allocated by the city council to deliver services including parks and recreation. That is essentially how the system has to work. On the other hand, you could have particular units in your park and recreation system operating on a different basis. You could have a tennis center which would be expected to substantially support itself. There are such in Houston, I believe, and they also have a golf course that is expected to be self-supported. It certainly would not work in parks generally on that basis. I certainly support the second perspective, redistribution, as a way to operate a parks system and to try and achieve its goals and so on.

Taxes are not voluntary activities. I think if you let people pay taxes voluntarily, then very few would pay. Taxes are imposed on people by government to pay for necessary government services. On a voluntary basis, you would have free riders who would not pay but still would share the benefits. There are some cases, where you can do that if you tied the taxes to a particular service such as water supply, garbage collection, particular recreational facilities, but as a general matter I don't think that approach would work.

Respondent 8 (P&R Practitioner)

Voluntary exchange. For parks and recreation more so than for any other government service, we have more support groups, interest groups volunteers, advisory councils, garden clubs, neighborhood associations. More than any other government services we are in tune and more hand-in-hand with the community. So to me, that is why we are in the voluntary exchange business. I am free to enter and quit these relationships. Regarding citizens, to serve or not to serve these people we are very free. We work with so many different constituencies in the community and it is simple up to us. Of course sometimes there is some political involvement. It is like doing a master plan in your park, we get something, some land, we going into that process, we go to advisory council or neighborhood associations whatever the constituent base may be in that area and we say: "This is your park, what do you want in it. We need your input so we can design this park."

We are trying to treat everybody equally. I think that probably gives us an advantage. Also there are few departments that are as spread out across the city as we are. We are all over town working with all types of interests and we are trying to meet their needs the best we can.

The open recreational activities are totally free services. For arts and crafts, it depends on where the community center is located. If it is located in a neighborhood where there is more discretionary income them and the market rates may tell us we can charge $40 for a photography class. If the neighborhood is very poor then traditionally that class would be done free. We have tried during the last three-four years to say that everybody should pay something no matter what part of town is it. In this part of town I can get $40 for a photography class, in an other part of town I can get only $5 for the same class. People who work in those centers decide about the fee. We empower them to make those decisions.

Where to build a new recreation center is a political decision. We used to lease facilities from the independent school district, rather than invest millions into a new facility. But the city council decides if they need a community center in their council district.

We do not get that much pressure to serve particular populations. We get pressure to serve more by age, we focus on youth first. Older Americans, senior citizens, second, and then the general population third. In the past we have gotten direction from the council that we need to have more activities to address kids that are more at risk than other kids. City council provides the resources for such goals. Or we can get resources through grants or donations as happens in some cases. The example I would give is we have an after school program for youth age 11-15 in one of our community centers. The reason this program exists is because we initiated a grant request to the state to fund this program.

At a community center, we have a budget and it is our responsibility to provide services and programs to the community. If we spend one or two thousand on after-school program, as long as we stay in our budget that is our decision. If we decide that we spent two thousand on this last year and we want to reduce it to one thousand and to take the difference in balance and spend it on senior programs. We have the latitude to do that. But if it is a program established by a council policy, then they expect you to have the program. So if they give funds for a late night program to operate during evening hours then we cannot take these funds and shift them to the senior citizens program. If the policy said that amount of money is for that particular program, I can shift money within that program. We have to comply with budgetary policy. Council gives us $750,000 to do late night programs at five community centers. We have to keep that $750,000 spread among these five centers.

I see payment of taxes as a payment imposed by government because if most people had a chance not to pay they would not do so.

Topic IV. Motivation of Personnel
Respondent 1. (P&R Scholar)

I think there are some there for self-interest and to make some money. But I think there are many good employees there because they get satisfaction out of serving others and providing public services. There is a lot of personal satisfaction that comes from public service.

Respondent 2. (PA scholar)

I think, frankly, the second alternative, the public service. Most public recreation people that I meet, professionals in public service, understand what they are trying to do. They are trying to serve a larger interest in the community. The second option is clearly the preferred alternative. Any of us need to meet the larger interest beyond ourselves. If self-interest and public service coincide then these people are the most efficient professionals. Park and recreation is a people business. Most people get in this business in order to truly serve people. They try to help the community and to improve peoples' lives not just to achieve their own philosophy and goals. They have an emotional commitment which is sustained because they have great commitment to serve the public's needs. This is the definition of public service. My view is that people are attracted to our field of parks and recreation not because of self-interest. They try to make the community better. If we could use a proportion, then I would say that 65 per cent of concern is with public service and 35 percent of concern is with self-interest.

Respondent 3. (P&R Practitioner)

I think it can be both. There is some balance between self-interest and service orientation. Every employee in our department receives a code of conduct which explains how to serve the public ethically.

Respondent 4. (MKTG Scholar)

I think whether the organization is public or private, we as employees join out of our self-interest. We go to get something out of the organization. We do not volunteer our time or effort. Our times and our knowledge represent resources that we have and we take them to the organization. People join organizations for utilitarian reasons. They have goals that they want to reach and problems to solve. They do that by joining organizations. People join and participate in organizations out of self-interest, and they must have an income and benefits. Certainly people who work for public organizations are committed to do a very good job and to helping serve the public and achieve organizational goals. They pursue both public and self-interest. It is not strictly self-interest. Sometimes, they can prefer self-interest at the expense of organizational goals. If public employees are self-motivated and help the organization to achieve its goal without violating laws or ethics, I do not see any problem with it. Self-interest and the interests of organizations are not necessarily mutually exclusive. People can succeed in organizations and achieve personal goals, but at the same time it helps to achieve organizational goals too.

Respondent 5. (PA Scholar)

I have good reason to believe that not all people are self-interested. The motivation of public managers is not at all self-interested. I do not think you can explain all behavior by self-interest. I would not trust policemen or city managers who are self-interested. I think the public interest is the major concern of public servants. The source of ethical decisions in the public sector steams from Alexander Hamilton's request to pass a law forbidding the secretary of treasury to speculate with government bonds. It is conflict of interest legislation in addition to prevent crime in the public sector. The military always had a general code of military conduct.

Respondent 6 (PA scholar)

We have to come down on the side of public service. The question is who represents whom. Does a congressman represent himself or his public? Obviously you have to say the perspective is public service. You are doing this to benefit the public.

Respondent 7. (PA scholar)

I clearly opt for number 4. 2, the public service alternative. I opt for a more public service oriented perspective because this is the way things have to be done. You have to focus on what the public interest appears to require and not what someone's self-interest seems to demand. Concern with self-interest applies more to economic behavior.

Respondent 8 (P&R Practitioner)

I think it is self–interest. It our responsibility to be the best stewards we can of the resources for which we have responsibility. I think we have to view decisions in a global manner and on a long term basis. People who are not professionals in the field or doing this on day-to-day basis, do not get the big picture. Our responsibility is to make them view the long term. It can be a good decision today, but a week from now what are the implications of that decision? If ultimately they make a conscious decision on a short term basis, a least they understand what is going to happen in the long term.

Our mission is to be good stewards of the monetary and recreational resources, that we were entrusted with responsibility to take care of. In addition to that we have to provide quality recreational opportunities and responsive community services. That is our mission. It is pretty basic to me. That has been the mission of the field since the beginning: to provide responsive, quality, recreation services. I think this mission is consistent with the self-interest motivation.

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